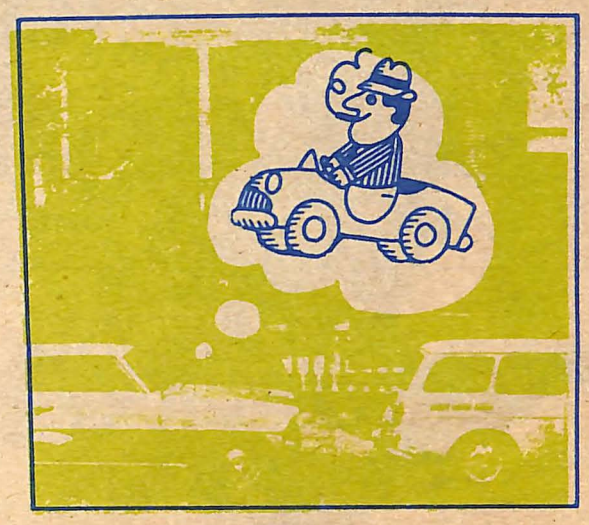
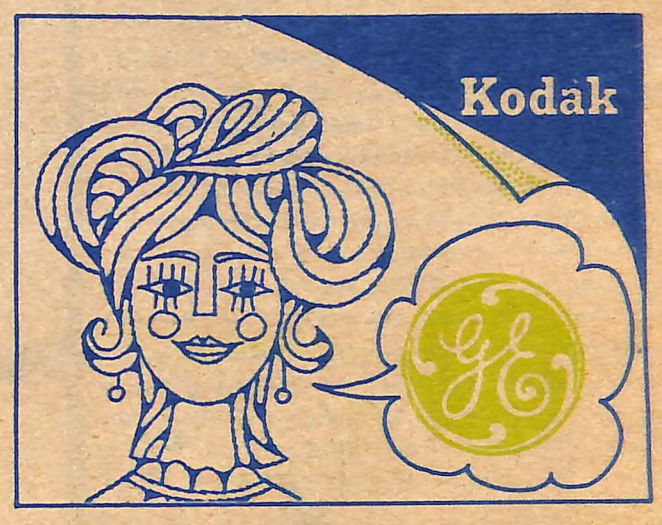
View from the BOTTOM

The blunt toe shoe Show!

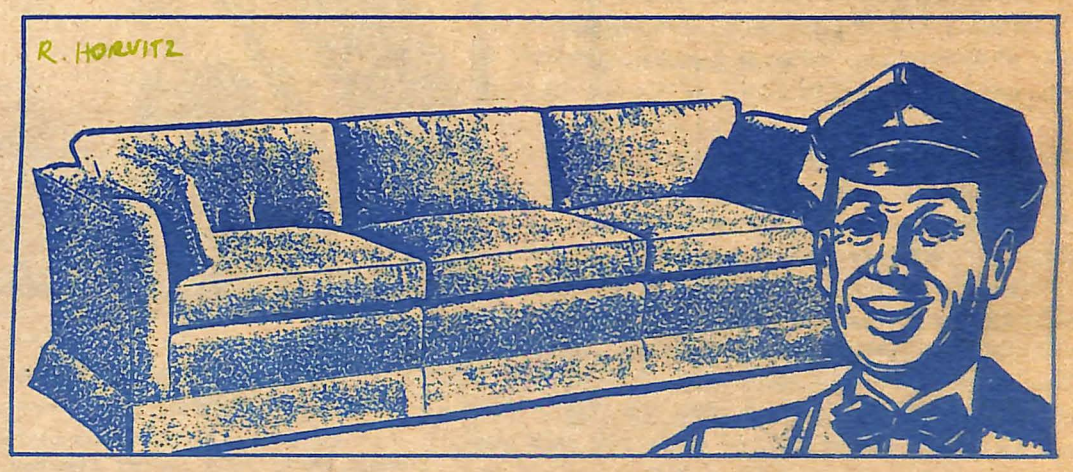


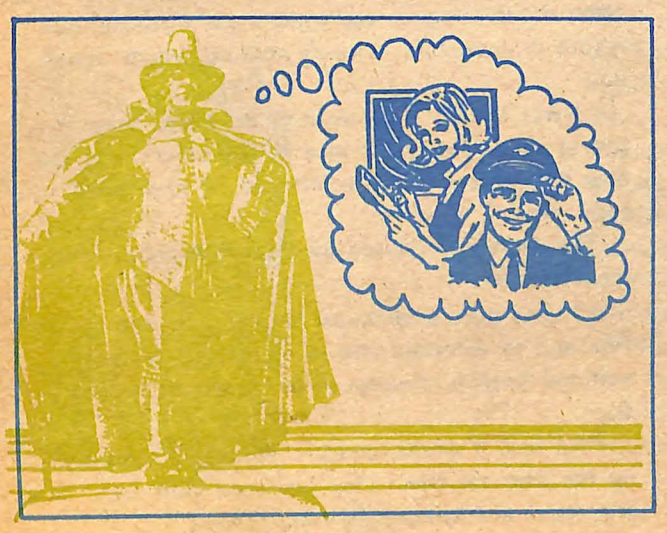


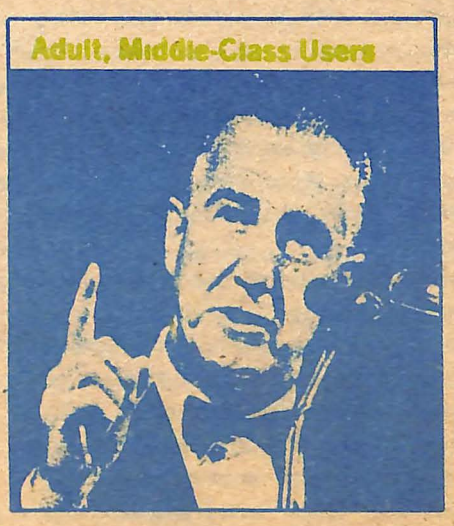
The function of freedom is not merely to protect and exalt the individual, vital as that is to the health of society. Put quite simply, we foster freedom in order to avoid error and discover truth. So far, we have found no other way to achieve this objective. Some dissent is present. We do not indulge dissent for sentimental reasons; we encourage it because we have learned that we cannot live without it. A nation that silences dissent, whether by force, intimidation, the withholding of information or a foggy intellectual climate, invites disaster. A nation that penalizes criticism is left with passive acquiescence in error. A nation that discourages originality is left with minds that are unimaginative and dull. And with stunted minds, with timid men, no great thing can be accomplished.

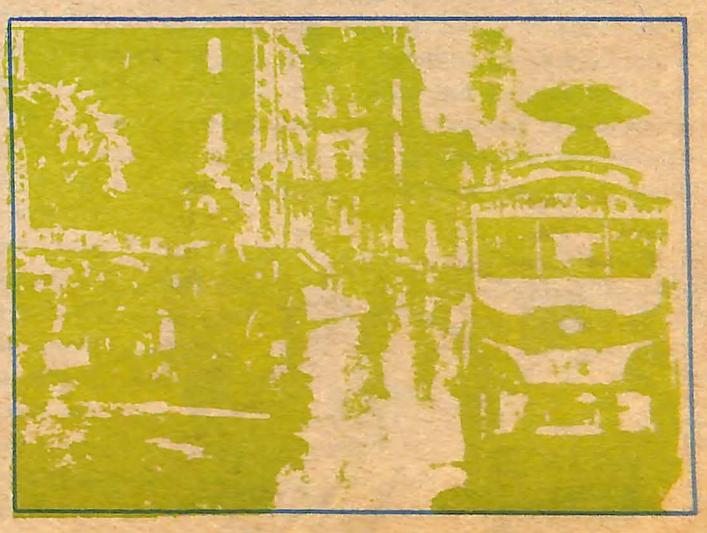
It is for this reason that history celebrates not the victors who successfully silenced dissent but their victims who fought to speak the truth as they saw it. It is the bust of Socrates that stands in the schoolroom, not the bus

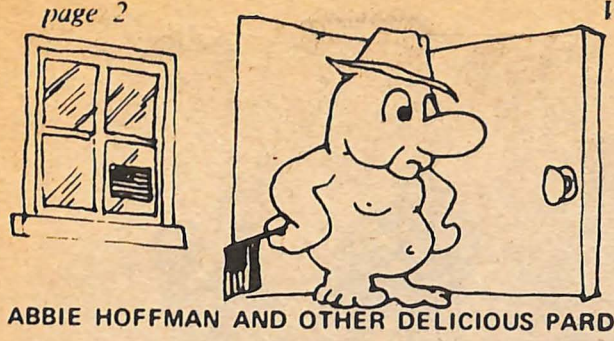
AT&T











TRICK...

ABBIE HOFFMAN AND OTHER DELICIOUS PARDS

CR Lawn

Ya see that bank over there? (Abbie points to the Second National Bank.) For seven bucks you can rent a safety deposit box for six months. Ya put a mackeral in it. (Ya know, a fish). After about a month they can smell it. After three months they can figure out where it comes from. But they can't open the box without you and they can't find you cause you took it under an assumed name. So they gotta move the fuckin' bank. For seven bucks.

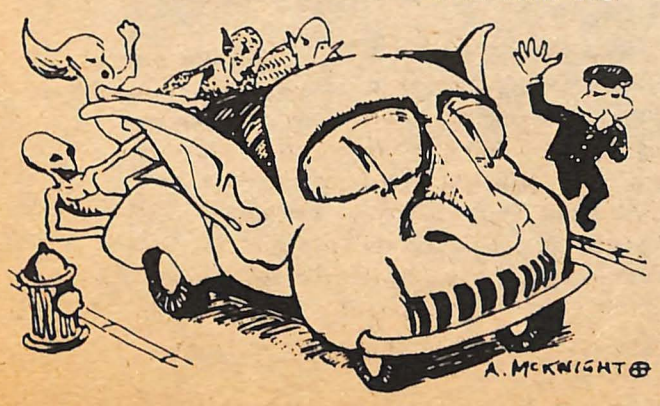
"You gotta relate to the revolution like its Halloween. Halloween's a heavy holiday." It's all in Abbie's new book, coming out in October, a 500-page handbook "on how to overthrow the government and shit like that." Called Steal This Book, *it has a picture of Abbie on the back cover stealing this book, and a thirty page section inside on shoplifting techniques. (A few sneak previews: when buying potatoes put steaks in the bottom of the bag and potatoes on top. Empty margarine from its box and put butter in its place. Pay potato prices for meat, and margarine prices for butter.) "Maybe they'll publish it because I'm an elitist, a male chauvinist, over 30 pig, millionaire. Mademoiselle sex symbol of the year. I know that, I ain't ashamed of it, I'm gonna use it...."*

When Abbie came to New Haven several weeks ago, he ran into a lot of factionalism at an internal movement meeting. He found people laying heavy ideological raps on each other. Despite the crucial nature of the trial, and the steady influx of heavy people it has brought to New Haven this summer, the movement here has been so fragmented that it has wasted its energy in internal factionalism, and accomplished very little concrete in the way of serving the people.

"There's a lot of infighting, and that's gotta be settled here in New Haven...There ain't no one way to run a revolution, right? A lot of different people got the solution and they should. Everybody should have a solution to the problems, to the problems of racism and imperialism. The solution, not answers to the issues, not sensitivity sessions where people debate about their neurotic problems and complain about apathy. There's no such thing as apathy. People create apathy in their heads. People gotta get over that kinda shit and gotta be willing to work together, brothers and sisters. Because if we don't work together here in the streets and parks of New Haven, we're all gonna hang together, just like they are."

The Yippies are organizing a large trip to Cuba. People representing the revolutionary youth culture will be going throughout this month. Abbie was critical of straight people representing the peace movement who for a long time had prevented freaks from going on trips like these. "We just had a meeting with people in North Vietnam and other countries outside the free world—a meeting establishing relations with nations with which we want to enter mutual defense treaties."

The Yippies are the only revolutionaries who know how to use media to spread their propaganda. You don't convert people by bullshitting to other revolutionaries in meetings. "McLuhan said that there isn't any distinction between education and entertainment, and that those people that think there's a distinction don't understand shit about either one."



DANCER STRIPS WHILE TEACHING 'PROPER' ENGLISH

London (AP)—Curvy Sandra Freeman takes off her clothes once a week to help foreign visitors learn English.

It's called educational theater, and the motto is, "We aim to entertain and to stimulate."

Sandra, a 24-year-old actress who calls herself Fifi for school hours, strips down to her black lace bra and panties as part of a British Broadcasting Corp. experiment.

She and other members of the English Teaching Theater Company take the stage of a 150-seat theater once a week to give a two-hour lesson in English to foreign visitors who pay 72 cents each. The curriculum plays to packed houses.

To the tune of *The Stripper*, Sandra teasingly casts off one garment after another while Jeremy Harrison in mortar board and academic gown spells out the name of each piece of clothing on a blackboard.

"She is now taking off her hat....She is now taking off her dress....She is now taking off her stockings," he intones.

"The audiences are marvelous," says Sandra. "They often shout things to me while I am stripping, but it's all in good fun. There's nothing smutty about it.

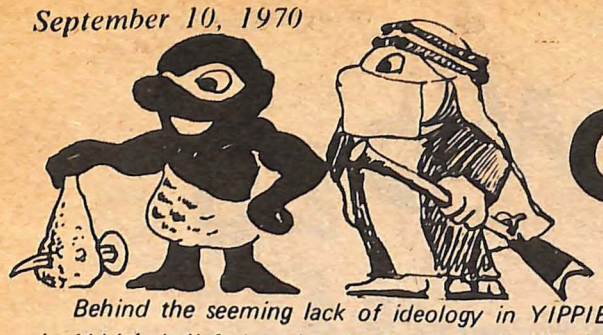
"I was terribly nervous at first. I had never seen a strip show, so I went to a couple of clubs to see how the professional girls stripped. I now simply copy them."

The show is produced by Piers Plowright, a former schoolteacher.

"This is pure educational theater," he said. "We aim to entertain and to stimulate. We present the English language in highly dramatic situations.

"We find it works wonders. Students soon pick up the language when they are faced with such interesting and compelling visual lessons."

Stolen from the *New Haven Register*



OR TREAT

Behind the seeming lack of ideology in YIPPIE! is Abbie's belief that the development of skills in propagandizing should precede debates on whether a certain strategy is correct or not. His new book aims to teach those skills.

Good use of media is entertaining. The serious heavy trips the movement is going through now are not. They do not absorb people into the revolution trip. They turn people off, like Doug Miranda telling the freeks at Woodbury to fuck themselves.

"Let's face it. That fuckin' May Day rally here was ninety per cent freaks. And people laying down bullshit raps about getting serious which I think is a bullshit rap. Cause it's a bullshit word. I'm captive in a country that says businessmen are serious, movie producers are serious, teachers are serious, people that own banks are serious, landlords are serious. They tell you every single minute that you've got to be serious and work and work and work. FUCK THAT SHIT. We don't use those kinds of words. (The heroin pushers in the universities and grammar schools fuck up the language.) That's what's different about the Yippies.

Voice from audience: How do we change other people's heads?

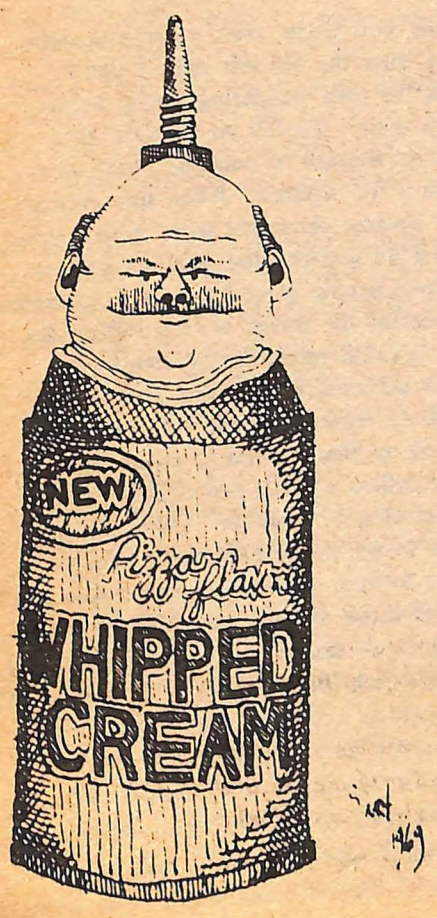
Abbie: It's easy. The revolution is not like the preparation of a term paper. That's no fuckin' good. We gotta learn other skills. We got to learn how to make previews and advertisements for revolution. I talk to Madison Avenue advertising executives that are more together than all the serious cats in the movement in New Haven. They know what the fuck they're doing. They know how to communicate. They know how to sell BRILLO!

Voice: Do they wanna sell revolution?

Abbie: They can sell bullets. They can sell shit.

Voice: They know where their paychecks come from.

Abbie: Well they know how to do it and we have to study their technique. And one technique that's no good is like the cat who got up before and said, "Our trial is not important." I never went to a fuckin movie from seein a preview that said "Well this ain't too—this is a minor thing—see the one in two weeks." Study the way things become popular. Power to the people.



Power to the people means POPULAR. POPULAR!

To some, Abbie's call for advertisers for revolution seems crass and his contention that Hollywood skills lay not in its product, but in its promotion, cynical. As one voice in the crowd protested, "But that's the kind of shit that tries to control people. We don't want that shit." Abbie refused to address that question squarely. He apparently didn't want to get into the old conundrum: can a revolutionary use means contrary to the ends he desires? People have gotten over the analogous hangup that the Black Panthers will use violence in order to create a society in which violence against others will be eliminated. Can they develop a similar willingness to use advertising to create a society in which there will be no advertising?

Abbie's answer is to be flippant. This is sometimes disturbing to people who ask him genuinely serious (there's that awful word again) questions that are troubling their heads. Thus:

Voice from audience: Freaks are no problem. How do we get to straight people?

Abbie: Death is getting to them. They're just dying off. We're outliving them.

Voice: You mean we gotta wait 40 years? That's a down.

Abbie: Well the fuckin' Vietnamese have been fighting 22 years and they're as optimistic as fuckers. They know that every kid that's born Vietnamese is a Viet Cong. They just know that.

Voice: Do we want to suffer through the kind of shit that the Vietnamese are getting? My god, that's sort of a bummer.

Abbie: Well we got white skins and we're all Jewish. Don't worry man, they ain't gonna use napalm on us.

Or:

Abbie: Everything that produces chaos is good.

Q: If we have chaos who will cut cane?

Abbie: I don't want to cut cane. There are people in our new nation who not only can build a better mousetrap, they can build a better mouse.

Q: But you have to eat, I want to eat.

Abbie: I'm a new species, I don't have to eat.

Finally, Herman, a little exasperated said, "Mr. Hoffman, you don't make sense."

"That's what my mother tells me," retorted Abbie.

Now anybody who knows me knows that I'm not particularly hung up on rationality. Amerika, 1970, is so surreal, that anyone who is into the Yale logic trip has to have an affliction of the strangest anal insanity. So Abbie's contradictions don't bug me much. He is crazy enough to make more sense to me than anyone else in the movement.

A key to understanding is perhaps Abbie's own admission that he's not here to speak on the issues, he's here to destroy the format, the institutions. That's something that heavy revolutionaries, hung up on meetings, which are very unchanging bourgeois media, tend to forget. Changing content without changing form is meaningless, for in the final analysis the form is the content. Anyway, there's no danger that New Haven in 1970 will be engulfed by legions of little Abbies, yipping through to chaos, without pausing for some bullshit along the way. Rather, the problem seems to be too few people with imagination and enthusiasm, two commodities the Yippies are able to provide.

If you're having fun doing it, it's somehow easier for it to really matter. **"If you're trying to organize your high school, your teacher's the meanest motherfucker who ever lived, and that high school is the symbol of every high school in the country, and you're trying to reach kids in every high school."**

Above all, Abbie is at war with the guilt trip, for he realizes that we will not be able to make a revolution if our only source of energy is the guilt we feel for the sins of Amerika. Without joy, a movement can't sustain itself.

"I said people shouldn't be serious, I didn't mean they shouldn't struggle. We'll want a society like the Cuban society where cutting cane and dancing in the streets ain't different. There ain't no separation between play and work. That's all a trip that's laid on us by fuckin' protestant assholes that built Yale and places like that. Eli Yale, with his dinky little hat and his fuckin' buttons, with that little black suit with the frills. They have that whole concept, people should feel bad, feel bad. You should feel bad. You're white, you should feel bad, you ain't going to heaven, you should feel bad, you ain't prayed this morning, you should feel bad, cause if you feel bad you keep workin for two cents a day, you keep pickin' cotton. The protestant ethic got tied in with capitalism. That's how the capitalists made all that money...

Perhaps the greatest cause for concern was that Abbie may be succumbing to the very negative heaviness which he deplores. There were moments of it in his speech. I felt much better afterwards seeing how well he related to New Haven freaks as he cavorted around the lower green, watching him give out money to a collection for cold duck (the first time he had had it), taking the wire which holds the cork of the bottle in, putting it on his nose, and pronouncing it "a Jewish nose-holder." That's where it's at.

POWDER

COSMIC LABS INTERVIEW

CR: Who do you blame for the fact that this thing was a fiasco, the promotors, the Zemels, the townspeople, the pigs?

John: Really it was the townspeople. The townspeople did not want a festival there. They fought the injunction through. They put on pressure and from there pressure came from the politicians higher-up than people in the state. There are indications that there was pressure on the court.

The promotors laid up a really good defense for why there should be a festival: there'd been a lot of advertising, a lot of people were counting on it, it would be a bad thing for the generation gap to have this thing thrown out, a lot of good arguments. Something happened when it looked like we really had the permit, and the judges all of a sudden decided to stand firm and they got firmer after that. It was tough to get a permit in for anything—even if you were bringing food. You could come in but you had to walk in—you had to walk three miles from the main highway. The people who were working who had to come in and out had a hard time—the Zemels were even stopped.

The people in Middlefield were the people who fought about the 20,000 kids tramping through their yard, and the water that was going to be polluted, the forests that were going to be ripped down, and they said no. Well, they made a mess of it, but the kids made a mess of it, too, and everything happened, the water got polluted, the lake got polluted, the orchards got ripped off, the Zemels got ripped off, and all these things that the injunction people were trying to prevent came true, so we didn't make a good showing for ourselves. We just finished cleaning up this week...We blew this one, we messed this one up.

CR: What about the promotors, who were they, were they capitalist rip-offs?

John: I only met them once. I do know that they split awfully fast. They didn't leave anyone there to help us.

CR: They split after the injunction came down?

John: At the first sign of trouble, they left. They didn't tell us what we could do about the free kitchen or anything like that. They just left and left no place we could reach them. No one knew about the Yankee Stadium thing—they went back to New York and tried to get Yankee Stadium—obviously a move to recoup their financial losses but not give the people in Middlefield who came for the concert anything.

Indications were that they were not into helping people. They split and the people who were left holding the bag were the Zemels, and we just helped them out.

CR: Why were the Zemels doing this in the first place? Did they think it was a groovy thing?

John: They do a lot of things like this. I understand they do a lot of charity concerts every summer. They were going to do a Black Panther benefit. They were in for making money, too: "We give them a good festival, they give us tickets."

CR: Was Cosmic Labs aware at all of the undercover agents who were on the premises?

John: No. We didn't know about it until we saw in the paper that everybody was arrested. That was really scary because everyone was secure. People had no inhibitions about selling to strangers. We did wipe away the fear—everybody was completely openly selling drugs to people that wanted to buy them. A lot of people had bad trips though.

CR: There were a lot of bad drugs?

John: That's hard to say. A lot of people would freak out on good drugs. Maybe a lot of people took too many drugs. Plus the energy at the festival was not a good energy. That probably bummed a lot of people out.

CR: Did you run out of food?
John: No, we had plenty of food.

CR: Who provided the food?

"Mister Softee

Louis Zemel is the owner of Powder Ridge. This interview took place at a Cosmic Labs party. Because of loud music and conversation in the background, parts of the tape were garbled. The View has done its best to make an accurate transcription.

CR: Were you disappointed in some way that the festival wasn't used as a kind of political forum?

Zemel: Yes, I'd like to see it used in that way. The country is going to hell...If I wanted to defend the status quo, I would take all the young people and be absolutely certain that their minds stayed in some kind of never-never land and never challenged what I was doing. And when the reaction is so clever as to make people like you think that you're even fighting this while narcotics agents and laws all the while are permitting this to occur...everybody's being swindled.

I thought we of the old left have got a responsibility to these young people here who would like some information on the trial, on the war, on Marx, on all kinds of things. They're here by the thousands, we'll never have such an ear, we ought to organize something. I said, "I'll talk to some of my colleagues and see if we can organize something during the mornings for those who want it." The next morning I went down where we were serving some breakfast to the people who were working. Eagerly, I said, "You know I was talking to a friend of mine, and we'd like to set up some political discussions." And they just didn't want any of that shit. I thought, "Gee, I must have happened on the wrong bunch, I'll try somewhere else..."

I'm saying that there's an enormous number of young people, kids, just like you whose college education doesn't show. They come from working class backgrounds, nothing political around them, nothing political has ever happened to them, nothing of any importance has ever happened, there's no set of values, they like the music...There's nothing going on in their heads.

A: But they are doing something which is essentially political. They are mindless, and I agree with that, but by their mere presence they are political. These people are not going to be working in factories, they are not going to be doing any of this unless they can be recaptured.

Zemel: Show me what they're saying that's political, what the political implications...

A: It's not what they're saying. One thing you have to understand about this generation is that they have discarded words. I don't like that myself, but to get them to listen to you, you're going to have to do something else. You can't give them doctrine because they don't believe in doctrines. They saw what the old left did in 1935 and they didn't like it.

Zemel: I think you flatter them when you think they even know what the old left did. I don't think you spent the time wandering among them and talking with them. There's an absolute absence of values, an absence of concepts that's scary. Let me give you a for instance. When the injunction landed, when it became clear that there wasn't going to be any festival no matter what, and we were ordered to turn these people around and say, "go home" —a little like ordering the waves to stop rolling...So I thought that we could revert to the status quo ante. We were a ski area, a recreation area, a camping area, and that's what we would be, and anybody who showed up that wanted to come in, we'd say, "Okay, two dollars a head, two dollars per day per person if you want to come in. Otherwise, go home, there's no music, no entertainment, and we've been ordered not to have anybody around. And so, I presented this to some of your guys and they said, "Oh, you can't get two dollars per person." And then, so that it wouldn't look like a rip-off I said we would take that money which would be about six or eight bucks per person, and we would give it to the free food kitchen and let you know this. You know what happened. A third to the free food kitchen, a third to the Black Panther Defense Fund, and a third to the retarded children's campaign. And then

RIDGE

CR Lawn

John: I don't know. A lot of it was donated some of the same people that fought the injunc through. They decided that they wanted to he Free kitchen got a lot of donations.

CR: You guys put out a statement which si the promotors had connections with the under and that they were trying to create some kind crisis situation so that their movie could profit by it. What can you tell me to document this?

Dick: That statement was put out by HOTDAMN, Hostile Organization to Destroy All Media Now, which first appeared at the Alternative Media Conference at Goddard and is in fact a real organization. We have spoken in confidence with a number of people from the straight press, very straight press, as straight as it comes, who indicated to us that they had strong evidence that most of the festivals this summer were in fact promoted with Mafia money. I became very suspicious when I learned that Middleton Arts had retained Roy Cohn's law firm Monday of the injunction. For any of our readers who don't know who Roy Cohn is, check out the McCarthy hearings. Some of the Middleton Arts people were running around with ticket money that they were collecting at the gate, running to rooms and stashing it, running around very furtively. The people from Middleton Arts would ride in and out in big, black chauffered Cadillac limousines. These big limousines kept coming in and out and people from Middleton Arts kept coming in and out of rooms. The last person from Middleton Arts had a very funny look on his face and never rolled his sleeves up, and kept being very anxious about getting into his room, and drank a lot of water.

Jeff: He was the same guy who also we have reason to believe was trying to instigate a whole thing for the purposes of the movie. He was running around trying to play off people against each other.

Dick: A member of the state police was saying that he had evidence that the promotors had hired a motorcycle gang to come and cause trouble a on Saturday night at the festival. The promotors it seemed to me were either malicious men or stupid men, probably stupid and maybe a little malicious. They could have had their festival if they had wanted to had they not said to the judge, "You know, we'll pay your fine and have our festival." Had they simply kept their mouths shut... I mean if they really wanted to have a festival. Picture yourself as just an average intelligent human being in front of a judge, and the judge is pissed off at you because you are going to have a festival. What would you do? You wouldn't say, "Well, what's the fine, we'll pay it," would you? Not if you wanted to have the festival. What you'd do is say, "You're right, Your Honor" and then go ahead and have your festival because you'd know he'd never call the pigs in to bust up the festival once it was going on. There's no one stupid enough to call the pigs in because then the kids would destroy the town.

If you care about kids, you don't leave 30,000 of them and then abandon the grounds with no music, no medical facilities, no food facilities. We had to threaten the promotors with ripping off the food stands to get any money at all for the kitchen. They finally gave us a little. Most of the money for the free kitchen came from the people who owned the property as gifts.

A lot of kids had bummers. A lot of strychnine was being sold. As Tim Leary said eons ago, an acid trip is the environment, and if you have a lot of people in a bad setting with bad karma, and nothing is happening and no music, that's not a very good place to have a trip.

Jeff: There weren't as many bad trips as Dr. Abruzzi and all the other people said.

Dick: I saw people in the bad trip tent go out and grab someone and say, "You're having a bad trip," and pull them into the bad trip tent. If that happened to me, I think I'd bum out. Bad trip people get a little overzealous. Some of the bad trip tent people were bad trippers and they they said, "Ah, that will never work, that's too much money, make it a dollar straight...and then don't make it a dollar, make it a dollar contribution, and then if they haven't got it let them in anyway." So we tried to stop them at the gate. I tried it myself. I said, "This is for the free food kitchen so we can feed you, man," it didn't make any difference. They wouldn't put any money in for themselves.

After the festival I was concerned because I knew that hundreds of cars had been towed away. And it occurred to me that there was going to be one mass of trouble because kids would get there and they had no money look what they didn't put into that barrel—

CR: How much did they put in?

Zemel: About $150, it should have been about $20,000. And I said, "You know what they're gonna be doing. They're going to be hitchhiking home to get some money and then hitchhiking back to get the cars, and meanwhile the storage fees will be accumulating." So I got up a thousand dollars in small bills and gave a guy the money to get the cars out. I figured we'd be clobbered that much more. He came back two or three hours later and said, "There's just no problem. They pull out their wallets and they take out the money and they pay them. And if one or two of them didn't have it, they just borrowed it from their friends." So these kids who couldn't throw a buck into their free food kitchen, had dollars and dollars for their tow fees.

Zemel: What I'm saying is that you guys (Cosmic Labs) were absolutely magnificent, but if we stood you next to these other guys we couldn't tell you apart. But, by what you did, we could tell you apart. There's such an enormous number in the drug culture, for whom that gives them all they want.

A: Most of us are in the drug culture...

Zemel: If anybody has the mental strength to say okay, "I'll take my consciousness and I'll diddle with it chemically..."

A: It's not a matter of strength, it's a matter of consciousness.

Z: If someone says, "I think I can handle it because I have enough values, enough perspectives, enough nuances in me that I can handle it," but when these ciphers behave that way, I mean Jesus, can you see the catastrophe? Did you go in that trip center?

CR: What was the scene like in the trip center?

Zemel: It looked like Dante's Inferno, it really did, it looked like the Ninth Circle of Hell. I hope they got some of that on film. Naked girls lying there screaming, men physically holding them. This in cot after cot after cot. While this is happening, the ambulance clanging taking more of them in, and in the backdrop the pusher hollering: "Come buy more..." Probably the most obscene part of it was that people could look on with such equanimity. It seems to me it makes such a statement of the hazards of the drug culture, that well, I've made up my mind that I've taken on reaction as an enemy for the last 25 or 30 years, and now I've got another one, that is, the drug culture is just as dangerous.

CR: Do you think that the drug problems were due mostly to the nature of the kids that were taking them or just that there was some very bad stuff being sold?

Z: It doesn't matter.

CR: It does matter to me.

Z: Well if you take a 12-year old kid who's been tripping on Sandoz LSD for the last three years it's not going to make any difference.

CR: Don't you think a lot of external events helped make the scene the bummer it was? All these people coming in and finding there wasn't going to be any music? All this incredible number of people gathered together in such a small space?

Z: I think there was some of that, a lot of that, but I think that these same kids would have gone into this same scene anyway, maybe not to the

gave that to other people, too. And some were good.

I think the judge and the prosecutor should be held responsible for anybody who had a bummer, for the heart attack of Jack Belfort, who's the Zemels' lawyer, for the death of Lou's sister. The pressures that were created on the Zemels to try to comply with the injunction, I've gone to law school, and the terms of it were so vague, that to try to comply with the injunction, and, on the other hand, to try to keep 30,000 people alive, and keep them so they wouldn't go and try to burn down the town of Middlefield, or do something rash in which some stupid confrontation that nobody was prepared for would occur...The pressure was so intense that people cracked, everybody cracked.

Picture a three-day Super Bowl Classic in which you're going to have the six greatest football teams of all times play each other, you get a bunch of people there, and six million cases of beer, and the football games are called off. Do you think the people would go home quietly? On beer? And pick up all the beer cans?

One thing I'm pissed off at. I saw people with fink ecology bumper stickers throwing garbage out of their cars. I saw people who told us that they were ecologists killing live trees. There must have been thousands of live trees killed, camp fires that were not put out, streams ruined. If Woodstock Nation is not a media hype, if there really is a generation of "freaks" who are really into ecology, then they weren't at Powder Ridge. Powder Ridge was the speed freak, needle freak freak-out generation, weekend hippies. We've been picking up garbage for three solid weeks and it's still on the ground. We passed out 1000 garbage bags on Saturday and we had to throw all of them away as garbage, because people didn't use them.

Jeff: The idea of being a freak has become an excuse for many people. People are just into it because it's a thing to be into and everybody else is doing it and like it's cool to get your hair long.

Dick: The people who were surfers three years ago are festival goers now. They're packing their dope instead of their surf boards and going to festivals now.

Jeff: Everything straight people accuse you of, that all you want to do is sit around and destroy your head, is really true of a lot of people who were at Powder Ridge. I'm not saying it's bad to get stoned, but people were just into getting as many different drugs, many of them bad, into their systems and doing nothing on them.

Dick: If you meet someone who says they picked up garbage at Powder Ridge, they're probably lying. Because the number of people who picked up garbage at Powder Ridge is under two dozen, and I think I know them all by face

I think largely what happened at Powder Ridge wasn't Woodstock Nation, it was Rip-Off Nation. There's a difference between free and ripping off, because it matters who you're ripping off. If you rip off the land, that's a bummer. Not everybody who has money is necessarily a pig. Some people who have money helped us.

As there was at Goddard, there was a split between the so-called freaks and politicos. But the political people, again with exceptions, because many of the people, especially from the Liberation School in New Haven, were really right on, felt that if anybody had more than they had they were a pig. That seemed to me to be nothing more than, "I want that for mine, so I'm going to take it."

The people who owned the site, who gave us money, who paid for the sanitation, did care. They cared about the safety and health of the people on the site.

There were cars that were completely stripped and vandalized, engines ripped off, tires and wheels taken out. Is that Woodstock Nation? Because you have long hair and smoke dope is not license to do whatever you feel like. Free doesn't mean ripping off. It means you should give something too. Free means you go and work, and produce, and you help people. It doesn't mean showing up and saying "gimme."

same quantity, but qualitatively they would make the same decisions, and if not at this moment, another moment they'd be having the bad trip. If not Thursday at Powder Ridge, then Tuesday at home. The drug culture takes them out of the action. You know we need cadres–there's a lousy world out there.

CR: How many bad trips were there?

Z: There were 987 that they counted. More than at Woodstock. There were probably eight to ten times as many people at Woodstock. Dr. Abruzzi, the physician at Woodstock and here, says that this was because they had nothing to do, that they were bored. This means I suppose that anybody who is bored becomes a candidate for an overdose.

CR: What do you think about the idea that I've had that Woodstock was an original event, a happening, and ever since Woodstock people have been trying to imitate it and creating these gigantic gatherings, and mostly none of them really made it and the reason they didn't make it was because they take what was a happening, perhaps even an art form, and try to imitate it. My feeling is that the festival is sort of a dying thing–there are more problems with it than...

Z: The kids themselves wreck it with the concept that this music is for the people–it's free. It doesn't occur to them that all these toilets that come in have to be cleaned at the rate of a thousand dollars a day, that there was security at the rate of hundreds of dollars a day...that there are logistics that go into hundreds of thousands of dollars, that the musicians have to be paid. They come in: Music is for the people; it sounds so glorious. But so are groceries for the people, so are medical services for the people, so are automobiles. But these people take the position that it's OUR music, they never wrote a damn thing in their life, they couldn't play anything, it's no more their music than Beethoven belongs to me. This generation on which I was leaning so heavily turns out to be a slim reed...

CR: Do you think this was a representative sample of this generation or aren't there now a growing number of people who are just festival bums who travel around from place to place mooching off people?

Z: Sure what we saw is representative of people and sure there are a lot of camp bums, sure there are a lot of beautiful people like the Cosmic Labs boys, but as has been said, there's a world out there that needs changing, and none of that is going to change it.

CR: How much of a loss did you sustain?

Z: Some of our losses simply can't be translated into dollars and cents. My sister died, an attorney had a heart attack. I don't know what it took out of me, incidentally we lost a lot of money, but that's only money. So what loss did we sustain? Incalculable. This wasn't the fault of the kids...I blame the reaction of the town injunction which landed like a ton of bricks, because it made the whole scene absolutely impossible.

CR: What did you know about the Goldstein organization when you rented out your property to them?

Z: They were not principals. It was the Middleton Arts Festival Inc. who hired the Goldstein public relations firm to do their public relations work. They issued a lot of very stupid statements. This whole thing was done by...business people and it had almost no chance the way they proceeded to do it.

CR: Is there any truth in the rumor that they had ties with the underworld and that they were planning to make a movie that perhaps would have profited either from chaotic conditions or riot conditions?

Z: I would have no way of knowing just what they intended the movie to represent. It seems as though they were comporting themselves in such a manner that if we hadn't gotten them out of there, there would have been some violence, and we did get them out.

CR: Would you care to amplify on the way they

Medical Aquarius

Powdered Hill. On your neighborhood grocery shelf. Youthcult presents bummers for mass consumption. Share your private nightmares.

Sunday morning was the *real* acid test. Everyone split. By late afternoon the parking lot was empty. If it had really been together we would have stayed on. Just bringing the Woodstock tribes together isn't enough, and sad eyed ladies stayed on waiting for ritual magic. Powder Pond had the sense to fight back when we poisoned her.

Take-A-Powder Hill. By the beginning of the week the promoters had vanished. Having invested a half million in the festival when the injunction came down, they were desperate. Adding to their miseries, the Zemels, who owned the land, had agreed to go along with the court and avoid jail. In a masterstroke, the promoters saw their salvation in a giant confrontation between Woodstock Nation and Pig Nation. Four hundred thousand screaming freaks driving the police up against the wall and demanding music. So while the Zemels continued to insist there'd be no festival, the promoters stole the headlines from their offices in New York by insisting the show would go on. The pied pipers played and the freaks poured into Middlefield. Dig it! – the promoters must have *hoped* the kids would feel burned, and force a confrontation, so they could score their profits. When that all fell through, they sank beneath our wisdom like a stone.

CR: Do you think that in light of the fact that the festivals attract all the "gimme" types that there's any hope for the festival?

Jeff: A festival could exist. The only way it's really going to happen would be a word of mouth thing. You start off with a piece of land and the people who have it, and they invite their friends and they invite their friends, and everybody knows somebody along the line, and there's no big media hype and posters and radio spots and all that shit, and you don't get all the weekend hippies and you don't have any advance tickets, and people come prepared to meet each other and get something good out of this land.

Dick: A lot of the problem with the festival came after it was over. Scroungers and scavangers came over. Stuff got ripped off. I lost stuff, people who were working there lost stuff, and the earth lost stuff.

If a festival's going to exist, those people who care about the Earth, which may mean getting down on your hands and knees and picking up the fucking garbage, have got to spread that. Long hair is not a license.....I got soured on long hair and freaks cause I saw a lot of people trying to use that as a license to be fuckin pigs like their parents, to be just like bourgeois middle-class people dumping their beer cans on the ground, ripping people off, treating other people shitty.

were comporting themselves, specific things that they did?

Z: When the injunction order came down from the court, Mr. Scheer saw fit to release a banner headline statement saying the festival would still go on, the injunction would not stop it. This is out and out defiance of the law which incensed the judge, who promptly called in the district attorney who cracked down in such a fashion that it made it impossible for us. This is where the heat came from. The pressure was really killing. We didn't know, for example, when we made an announcement over the public address system whether we had made a violation and were therefore subject to a $50,000 fine plus contempt of court proceedings. And although our attorney stayed right there to protect us from any act which could be interpreted as violation, still there came a time Thursday when the head of the state police department put us under arrest. We never found out why, it's still hanging over our heads.

CR: I take it that you made extensive efforts to get the kids out of there when this pressure was put on you, and they wouldn't leave?

Z: We announced to all the press that was there that the festival was off, and would they please tell people not to come, and we went over the public address system asking people to please go home. We did everything that the district attorney asked us to do except his insistence that we turn off the utilities. And then we tried to make it easy for him to back down.

Carl: Do you think something the size of the Sunshine Festival could come off good?

Dick: Ya. To me that's the ideal festival. 5,000 people. I think name bands might be the source of the problem. When Jefferson Airplane, which I like, can demand $25,000 and a floor of the Holiday Inn for a festival, that's a large part of your $20 ticket prices. Bands have been over-hyped, and bands have started to believe their press notices and freaks have started to believe their press notices.

Andy: On the free stage when we finally did get music going, there were Melanie and two other bands there and a stage about six inches off the ground and a P.A. system hooked up to a Mr. Softie truck. I mean it was really cruddy sound, and the groups that were on there were not that good at all, but it made absolutely no difference.

Dick: Melanie is at best a j.v. star, although I personally like her music. She, at least, and I spoke to her, seemed to be really into wanting the kids to have a good time and to have good music, and the rapport that she built up instantly with that crowd on the six inch stage with the crummy sound system.....She got a standing ovation after every song and in the middle of some and she deserved it. She cared. Where were all the bands that supposedly cared? Melanie came in with her guitar and she didn't play a high tech, and she sang to some people. And if you were at the Grateful Dead concert at Wesleyan, that was another example to me of a perfect thing. 5,000 people on a hillside with a funky sound system.

The search for community, that is looking for someone else to show you the way, which is a product, I think, of our educational system.....you go to school and you're spoon fed, and then you become a freak. Well, you're educated so you want to become a spoon-fed freak so you go to a festival to be spoon-fed by the Hog Farm, or by some other well-known commune how to be a freak.

Jeff: There were a lot of good people. There were a lot of good groups of people here in Connecticut. We met a lot of good people from Wesleyan. Little enclaves all over Connecticut. Seems to me the thing to do would be to get those people together in small festivals. We've been talking with one of the buses in Hartford, the Smile Bus, which is really getting together, and to some other people from Woodbury about maybe getting just three buses together and doing a lot of things together, like maybe traveling together and doing things all over Connecticut together, building a whole big thing statewide.

CR: I take it that you came away disillusioned with what's been called youth culture? Or do you think it is possible that a minority of the people there really spoiled it for everybody else? Did most kids leave garbage around, were most kids inconsiderate, were most kids tripped out when they couldn't handle it?

Z: Most kids were not tripped out and they did not leave garbage. But there were so many people that just a small percentage acting irresponsibly...Young people don't want to hear my generation use the word responsibility, but the word is there for all of that.

CR: Do you think that these sorts of festivals are doomed?

Z: Yes, I think so. I will never be a part of a festival again where the drug scene is a major part of it. I say all that because I'm coming down very much against drugs of all kinds–and I'm not including marijuana in that discussion. All the other drugs become something I want to combat. I think it's a reactionary thing. Nothing would serve reaction's purpose better than to get young people to turn away from changing the world to the way they want it, than by giving something that will divert their attention and siphon off the whole vitality that youth has. Every colonial power when it moves in, hands out mind-altering things. We used to give the Indians firewater, while we took their land, while we exploited.

CR: Were you aware that the narcotics agents were on the premises?

Z: No, we were intensely busy trying to walk this tightrope... I'm glad they were there. I'm glad they got em.

CR: How do you think the drug abuse should be controlled? Do you think the narcotics agents are the best way? Do you have some kind of plan?

Z: The only way that I know would be to politicize the youth, really politicize and convince them that this is a reactionary thing to be doing...

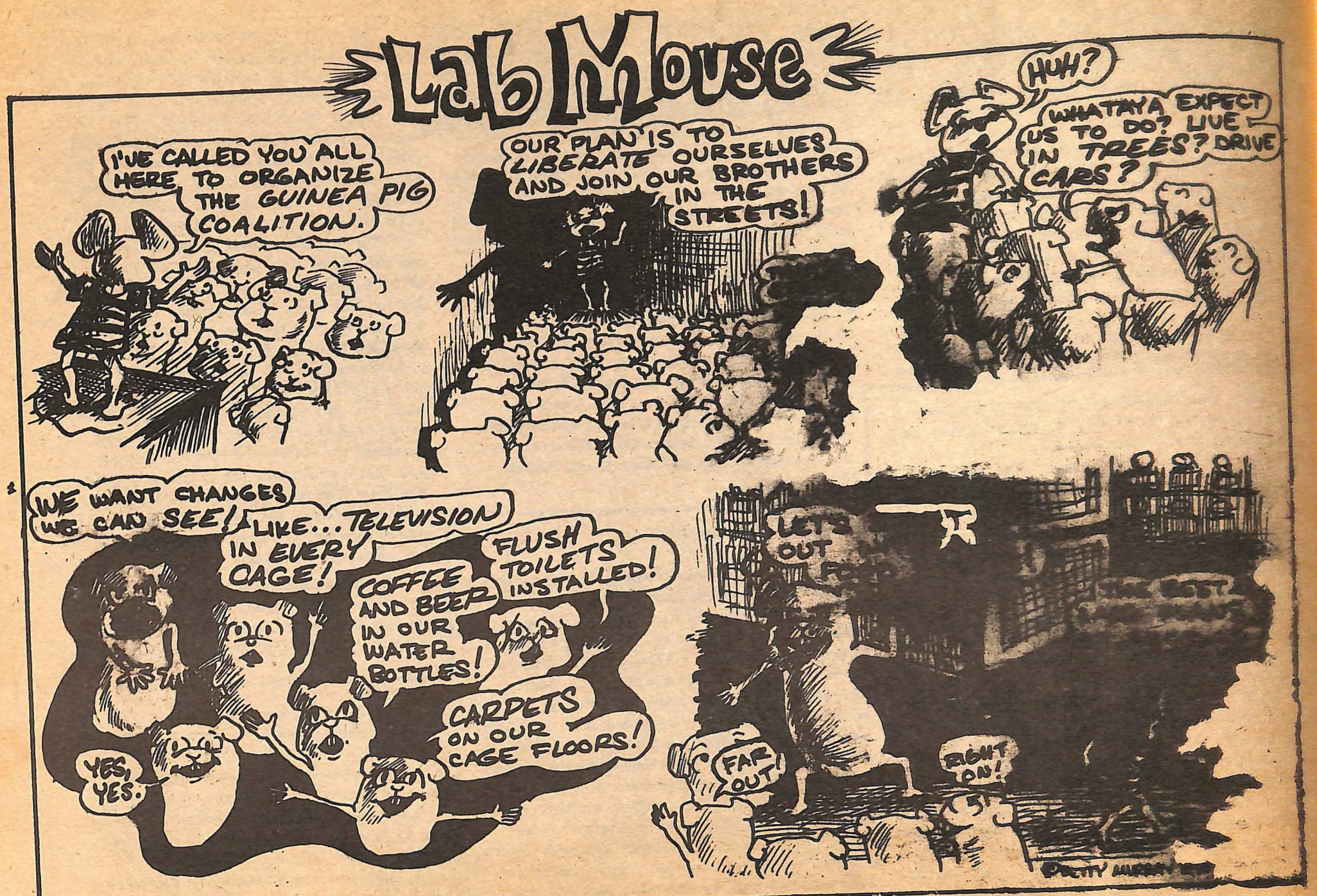
CR: I take it that you would dismiss completely the notion that someone could gain a clearer perspective of the way US imperialism and racism works through drugs...

Z: I would at this point want to assign that task to thoroughly competent physiologists, set up a lot of controlled experiments, and see if this is really a lot of bullshit or if people really do get these insights... I as an old left person intend to fight the drug culture as vigorously as I fight reaction.

One of the biggest ripoffs was run on the kids who worked on the hill. I talked with one of them over a stew dinner from the free kitchen on the night before the grounds were to be opened for camping. He'd come looking for work. He'd worked for room and board, but the promoters promised he'd be paid beginning Thursday. He knew he was being had, but he couldn't afford to recognize that. The outrage of a multi-million dollar business exploiting its clients every way.

The kids who worked in the bummer tent and aid stations were fantastic. I watched six of the holding down a muscular, violent, paranoid guy for four hours. Their patience and courage were impressive – they lovingly tolerated his abuse and tried to talk him down. There's a lot of controversy in both professional and head circles about the use of medicines for kids on bad trips. My own experience is that most bummers can be handled without medications, but that sometimes the anxiety and mental pain is so great that it's inhumane not to provide medicine. And those who need medicine should get it in sufficient dosage – not a token pill or two. The medical director's reluctance to treat some of the kids adequately was malpractice in my mind.

Doctor Aquarius is a New Haven psychiatrist. He welcomes your questions, comments, and paranoid fantasies on matter medical, personal or political at VFB, 532 State Street, New Haven.



good mornin'!

Judy and I went to Milwaukee for an underground press conference. Many heavy "political" people came. No one brought dope. Rather than getting to know one another, people bullshitted with each other. It was a bore.

Many of the freaks I see around me appear to be nothing but niggers. When thrown up against the straight world, they lose self-confidence, common sense, and freedom, and act embarassed about those very same things, self-confidence, common sense, and freedom.

The people who have a clear picture of what's going on in their lives and the world always surprise me. We got a ride hitching to Milwaukee, with a 50-year old guard from a Pennsylvania state penitentiary who said that if young people were smart, they would stop buying for one year to show the powerstructure of this country that they were tired of being pushed around. We also got rides with truck drivers, salesmen, college students, teachers, and a very few freaks, like maybe three. Many freaks passed us and didn't pick us up.

When I was in high school, I was pretty confused. One day I bought an underground newspaper and it had this to say:

> Relax, baby. Dig Yourself. You're okay. Fucked up, maybe, but basically okay. And you can maybe be a winner and still be beautiful. It's unamerican as hell, but it sure is nice.

I may still be confused, but life is bopping steadily along. I'm tired and the only natural thing to do is to go to sleep. Goodnight.

goin' to da festival?

Pat Murphy

Myself and my two companions went to Powder Ridge to make sure that the scheduled rock festival would be a free one, open to everyone who came with or without a ticket. We wanted to make sure that nothing would keep our people apart – the freaks, the beautiful people, the free souls of America. As things turned out, we were all together.

We arrived on Tuesday accompanied by a 100 or 50 people. By the late afternoon – we were told no one could enter the festival grounds until Wednesday at midnight. Everyone there seemed uncertain as to what was going to happen or whether there was going to be a festival, but they were sure of one thing, they were going to stay.

By Wednesday afternoon, there were 5000 people at Powder Hill, a free kitchen was set up and everyone seemed happy and excited – they knew that the Festival would happen – was happening – they were the Festival.

Along with the confidence of the numbers came the dope dealers. Lids for 10 and 15 dollars, acid one dollar, mescaline one dollar to $1.50 a hit. People were swimming in Powder Puddle, setting up tents, grooving on one another and smoking lots of dope. By now everyone knew that a cease and desist order had been served or issued or whatever judges do with those things, we were all illegal, as usual, as well as non-existent, since we heard on the radio that we had all left and the Festival was over. It was very amusing since people were arriving at about 1000 an hour.

On Thursday (I think it was Thursday, but by this time I was so stoned I lost track of time) several bands played, Jack Slack, being the only one I can name. People were making their own music as well, beating on tin cans and pots and pans, usually in groups of 50 to 100 surrounding one or two bongo drummers. A group of people overturned a 50 gallon trash can in front of the main stage and beat out a rythem that could be heard all over the festival grounds.

An aura of joy had settled on Powder Ridge. There were too many people to count and too much dope to smoke, and plenty of good food. That evening Zemel came on the main stage and said that he wanted the festival to happen but it couldn't because of the cease and desist order. We had to leave or he would go to jail. He explained that if we stayed we would endanger his chances of obtaining a permit for the benefit concert for the Panthers that he was planning for a future weekend. The crowd responded as one person – Fuck the judge we shouted, we're staying, let them send the National Guard – this is our festival – we're staying – Zemel was followed on stage by a stocky man with a black beard who said we will provide you with music and medical as long as you keep the pigs away. The crowd responded with cheering and loud applause.

Friday and Saturday were two more beautiful days filled with joyous people, music, food, and dope. On Saturday night a large crowd of singing, chanting, very stoned people were led into the street – toward the center of town by provacateurs –whether pigs or militants I don't know, but myself and a few others were alert to what was happening and managed to turn everyone around back into the festival grounds. There was lots of music.

Friday and Saturday nights, on two different stages, one stage in front of the main stage and the other stage at the foot of the slope at the entrance to Powder Ridge Melanie, Swan, and Jelsa performed, to name a few.

The Powder Ridge Festival was sheer anarchy – no one was in charge. There was no beauraucratic structure of government, just people who took it upon themselves to see that everyone was provided for, free dope, free food, free garbage collection, free music, free medical service, free joy, free love, free people together.

TWO GIRLS SLAIN, CLUES LACKING

By RUSSELL STONE
Register Staff Reporter

City police are still searching for clues into Wednesday's brutal killing of two retarded girls and the savage beating of a young male companion who remains unconscious and in poor condition this afternoon in St. Raphael's Hospital.

by Joe Gelles
View From the Bottom Staff Reporter

On a typical summer night a little over a week ago, the badly beaten bodies of two retarded girls were found lying by a ventilator shaft on West Rock. And in a change of pace from your typical *View From the Bottom* news coverage, the *View* was right there on the scene.

We discovered the bodies.

So it goes. (which is what, according to Kurt Vonnegut, they say about death on the planet Tralfamadore, where people look like plumbers' helpers and do not believe in death or time).

It is not every day that you discover a couple of bodies on West Rock, or anywhere else for that matter. Which prompts a few observations on the matter.

Number one, how do you go about discovering bodies? First, you have to be creative about picking a place to walk late at night where someone might want to dump a few. In our case, seven of us were sitting around at home (we all live in the Rochdale Coop on Elm St.) and decided to go for a walk somewhere. First we all piled into a Dodge van and someone said, well is it going to be East Rock or West Rock? Someone else said he was tired of East Rock, so there we were with a plan of action.

Next, you have to tell macabre stories. There are of course lots of scary ones, and you would be surprised how much scarier some of the old standards become if you set out expecting to find bodies. We didn't expect anything of the sort, however, so the jokes weren't very scary. In fact, three of us thought the bodies were a joke. When one person who had wandered away from the group came back and said, "I'm freaked, I just found two bodies," we didn't believe him. While three others went to check it out, we headed back for the van, fully expecting the other four to come back with some crazy story about how there were really two bodies. The other four freaked out doubly when they couldn't find us for about ten minutes. But they did eventually, and we went down to call the police. By which time the rest of us had started believing the whole thing.

The second thing you will want to know is what happens after you have found the bodies. First you must ascertain that they are dead. This is not very difficult, as there are a number of unmistakeable signs of death. For one thing, dead people seldom say very much, even when you try to wake them up. Once you are sure that the bodies are indeed dead, you may want to notify the police.

We did this, and told them the story straight, which we regretted a bit later. It would have been much more interesting if we had told them we killed the girls on orders from national Democratic Party Chairman Larry O'Brien. "Well, Chairman Larry said we should off 'em, so we took 'em up there and let 'em have it," we might have explained. And the newspapers would have picked the story up and explained to their readers that "off" is a word Democrats use when they mean "kill." Of course, we might not have been believed. But they believed George Sams.....

Two of us got interrogated by the police. After showing the police around the scene of the crime for about half an hour, the two were separated by the always-efficient New Haven police force, so they couldn't compare stories. The interrogation back at the detective bureau went something like this:

PIG: (into tape recorder, after asking name, address, etc.) This is a statement by (name, address, etc.) given of my own free will, concerning—(turns off recorder) by the way, what are you here for?

DON: I found two bodies at West Rock.

PIG: (turns on recorder) two bodies found at West Rock Park. (followed by some routine questions)

PIG: (turns off recorder) Now tell me in your own words what happened. (the detective listens to story, then begins to dictate in *his* own words, using the first person, into the recorder. All this was later put into a typed statement for each of the two to sign.)

While all this was going on, other detectives were poring over a map to decide the crucial question of whether the bodies were found in New Haven or Hamden. Meanwhile the whole New Haven and Hamden police forces seemed to converge on West Rock, blocking the roads—they almost wouldn't let us through on our way to the detective bureau. Every detective in New Haven was on the case—it must give them a good feeling actually to be dealing with a real crime, instead of dope. They aren't as good at busting murderers as busting pot-smokers, however. So it goes.

The papers did pick up the story. The *Register* even used it as a banner headline twice—once on Thursday when it was reasonably fresh and again on Saturday when they needed to sell papers. The story identified us as "a group of hippies, both male and female." It came as news to some of us—including a very straight computer programmer, a 40-year old French scientist and her 14-year old son—that we were hippies. But it fits into the police and *Register* world-view: if there are no clues after a few weeks, they can always blame it on us hippies and make the whole thing out as a Manson-style murder. "Thought She Was Witch and Computer Programmer Was Messiah, Reformed Hippie Tells Court," the headline will read.

The *Register* was of course very complete in its coverage. They mentioned in both articles (Thursday and Saturday) that one of the dead girls was illegitimate. That is because it is somehow a pertinent fact, since illegitimate children naturally turn out retarded and deserve to get killed. The *Register* did not report on the girls' eye colors, since that is not a pertinent fact.

The *Register* and other news media also reported that the girls had not been "molested." They merely got killed and their heads bashed in. Which gives you some idea about what straight people mean by molested. So it goes.

At 10:45 p.m., according to police reports, a "group of hippies, both male and female," came upon the bodies of the

According to the center, Miss Schlitter was the daughter of an unwed mother, while Miss

Miller also stated under questioning by Koskoff that he believed Sams' "antisocial behavior" had diminished between the 1966 Detroit robbery and the 1969 Rackley slaying.

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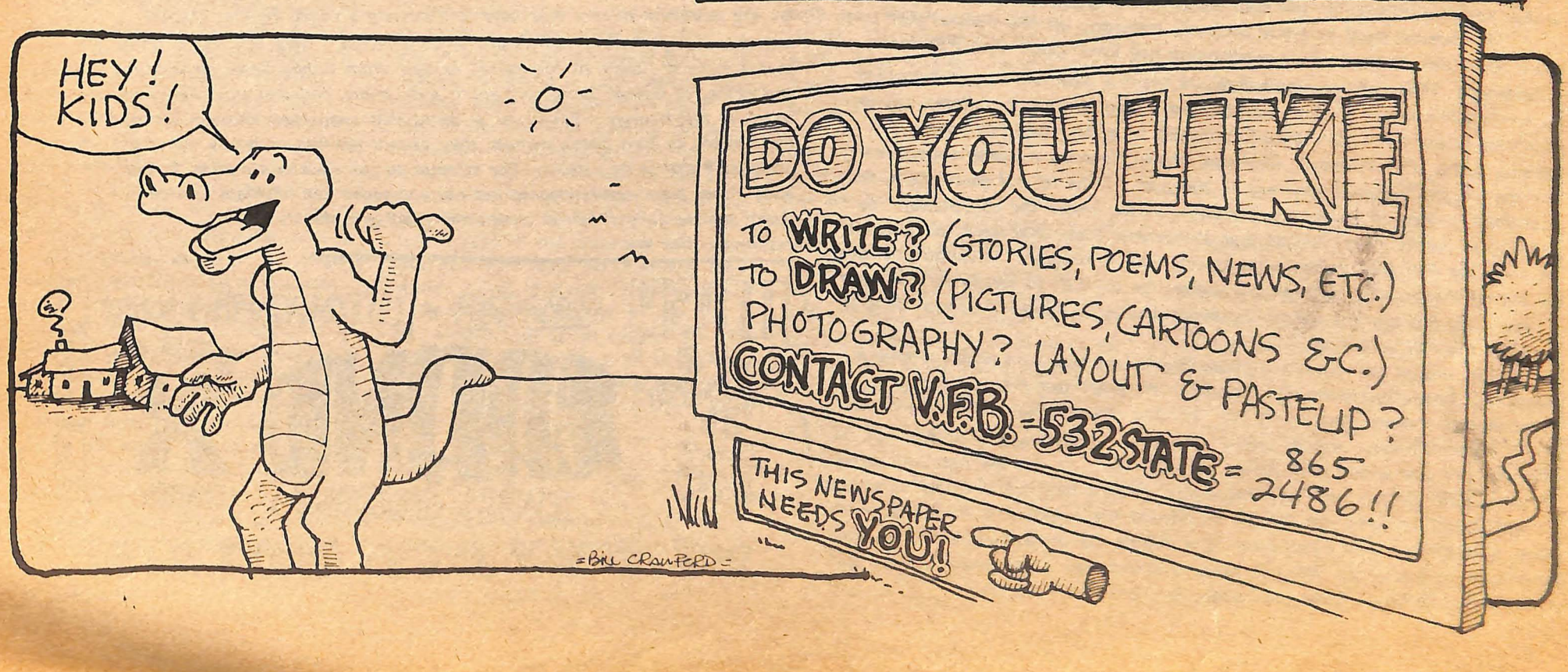
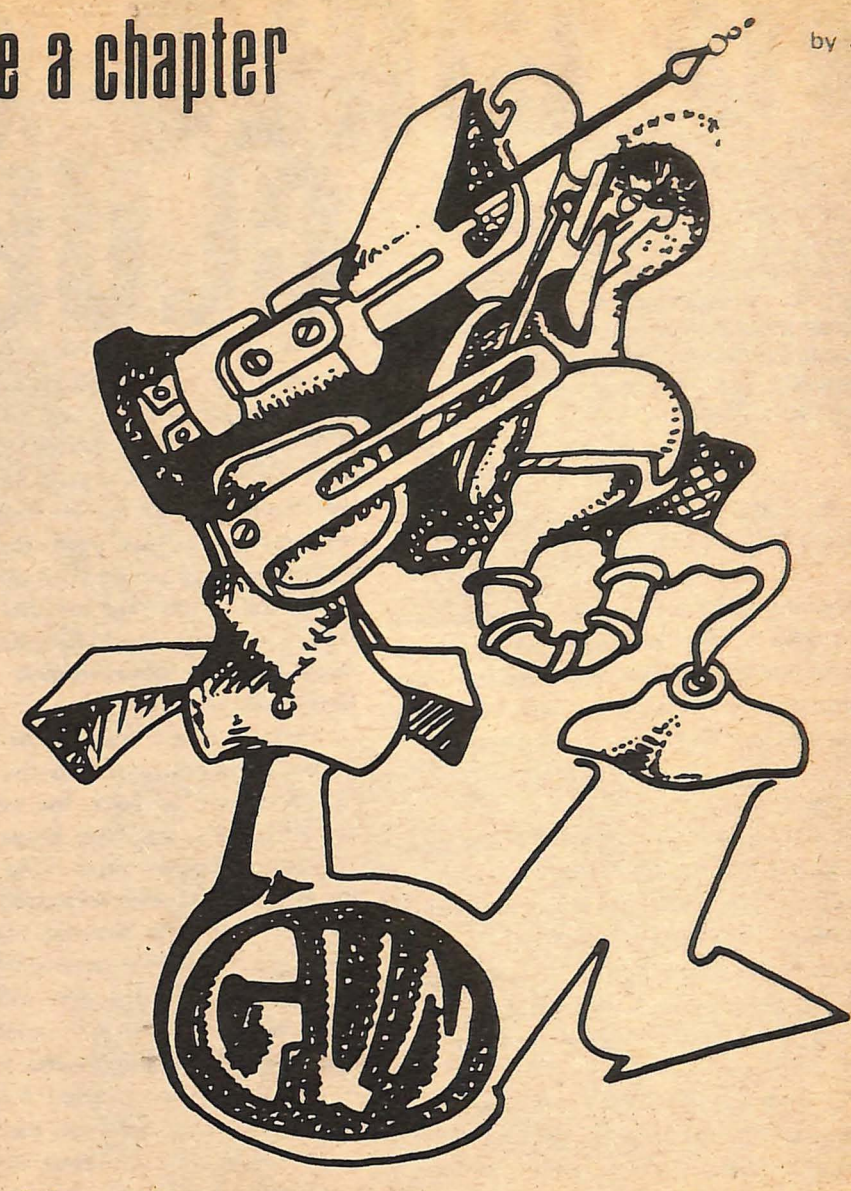


using one panther's death to frame a chapter

by John Bancroft



"George Sams is not on trial here."

"As far as I'm concerned, he is."

The first speaker was State's Attorney Arnold Markle, who is trying to use the death of Alex Rackley to put away Lonnie McLucas, Bobby Seale, and the rest of the New Haven 9 for the rest of their lives. The second speaker was defense lawyer Theodore Koskoff, who spoke for the Panthers and their supporters when he said that George Sams was responsible for Rackley's death. This one moment in the courtroom summed up the real fight going on in the New Haven Panther trials. The New Haven police, State's Attorney, and the FBI will try to capitalize on the tragic death of Rackley, a Panther in good standing. It is a perfect situation for them, and a tragic one for the Party: one Panther is dead, and many others are jailed, prevented indefinitely from doing their revolutionary work.

The way it works is simple. First the police busted the whole Panther chapter, and Panther leaders all over the country. The local Party members were questioned all night without lawyers. They were told that people had already informed on them, and that talking would only help themselves and the rest of the chapter. If the cops couldn't get people to say what they wanted, they could always ask leading questions, or just make additions to their "statements."

Then the first "confessions" were used to get other people to talk. Eventually, plea bargaining began. For example, each member of the New Haven 9 was told that if he testified against Bobby Seale, he would get off with only one year in jail. When no one took that offer, others—Warren Kimbro for example—were told that they were going to fry in the electric chair unless they testified against Lonnie, Ericka, Landon Williams, and Rory Hithe. Kimbro gave in and spoke to the police last January 12th in return for a 10 year sentence.

Now a confirmed state's witness, Kimbro had testified that Lonnie had helped interrogate Rackley, that Williams and Hithe had given many of the orders leading to Rackley's death, and that he (Kimbro) and Lonnie had killed Rackley on Sams' orders. But under cross-examination it turned out that Kimbro's trial testimony contained much new "information" that he had not mentioned when he first agreed to talk to the police on January 12th. All of the new "information" had one purpose: to implicate the New Haven 9 by making it look as if Rackley's murder was planned and carried out by the members of the New Haven 9. Koskoff quizzed Kimbro on his recent revelations.

Koskoff: You said that Lonnie made a call to Hartford to get another gunman for the mission. Did you mention that to the police when you gave them a statement on January 12th?

Kimbro: No.

Koskoff: Are you telling us your memory of May, 1969, is clearer now than it was six months ago?

Kimbro: Some things are clearer now, yes.

But even Kimbro did not dispute the basic defense contention that no conspiracy to murder Rackley existed and no plans to murder him were ever mentioned by any members of the New Haven 9.

Koskoff: Rackley didn't think he was going to be killed, did he?

Kimbro: That's right.

Koskoff: Sams told him that he was going to let him go, didn't he?

Kimbro: Yes.

Koskoff: In fact, you never heard anybody give an order to kill Rackley until Sams gave you the gun and told you to shoot him, did you?

Kimbro: That's correct.

To make up for this the state had Kimbro say that he saw many conversations between Sams and Hithe, between Lonnie and Williams, and so on. But that didn't change the simple fact that no evidence of conspiracy exists, and no one but George Sams ever gave an order to kill Rackley.

The police have tried to force Lonnie to say that a high-level murder conspiracy existed. They arrested him in Salt Lake City and held him for 5 days without a lawyer. They questioned him continuously, even on the plane to Connecticut, with the FBI agents and the New Haven police spelling each other. They told him that others had already made statements against him, that they had an "iron clad case" against him, and that it wouldn't matter if he said anything anyway. As a result of all this, Lonnie, who maintained his innocence then and still does now, agreed to answer some questions, which Sargeant DiRosa of the New Haven Police Department recorded.

The defense tried to block DiRosa's testimony on the grounds that Lonnie's arrest was illegal because wiretapping had been used. Two FBI agents were subpoenaed. The defense planned to ask them if they had used wiretapping to arrest Lonnie, and if their taps showed Lonnie making the alleged call to Hartford to ask for a gunman. But instead of getting two FBI agents, the defense got a U.S. Attorney, who said he was "making a special appearance for the United States government in this case." The federal government, he explained, wished to invoke its "executive power under the constitution" by refusing to testify. He claimed that the defense subpoenas were "an attempt to open the FBI files to complete looting and rummaging." Koskoff countered by saying that it was "outrageously unfair for the FBI to testify for the state in this case, but not the defense." Judge Mulvey, a former Attorney General, quashed the FBI subpoenas.

This cleared the way for DiRosa to play his tapes, on which Lonnie is asked one leading question after another. It turned out that the tape recorder was stopped continually for "off the record" discussions, threats, and so on. Lonnie's voice sounds awful: completely despairing and washed out after his five day ordeal with police and FBI men. It was the first and perhaps the only time the jury will hear his voice. On the tape, Lonnie does state that he was forced by Sams—on fear of his life—to fire a shot into Rackley's dead body after Kimbro had killed him. But despite the incredible pressure on him, he refused to give in to DiRosa's demand that he say a conspiracy existed between Seale, Williams, Hithe, and other Panthers to kill Rackley.

DiRosa: Who was at Ericka Huggins' house when you went there?

Lonnie: Bobby Seale, Ericka, Landon, Chairman Brothers, June and Rory.

DiRosa: Were they talking about infiltrators?

Lonnie: No, they were talking about the Panther paper, and getting it distributed faster.

DiRosa: Did they talk about infiltrators?

Lonnie: No.

DiRosa: That isn't what you told me yesterday.

Lonnie: I'm telling you the truth. What else can I do?

DiRosa: Did they eventually talk about infiltrators?

Lonnie: Not while I was there.

DiRosa: You told me Seale was told Rackley was under house arrest.

Lonnie: I told you I can't get everything word for word.

DiRosa: Was Seale informed about the torture of Rackley?

Lonnie: Not that I heard.

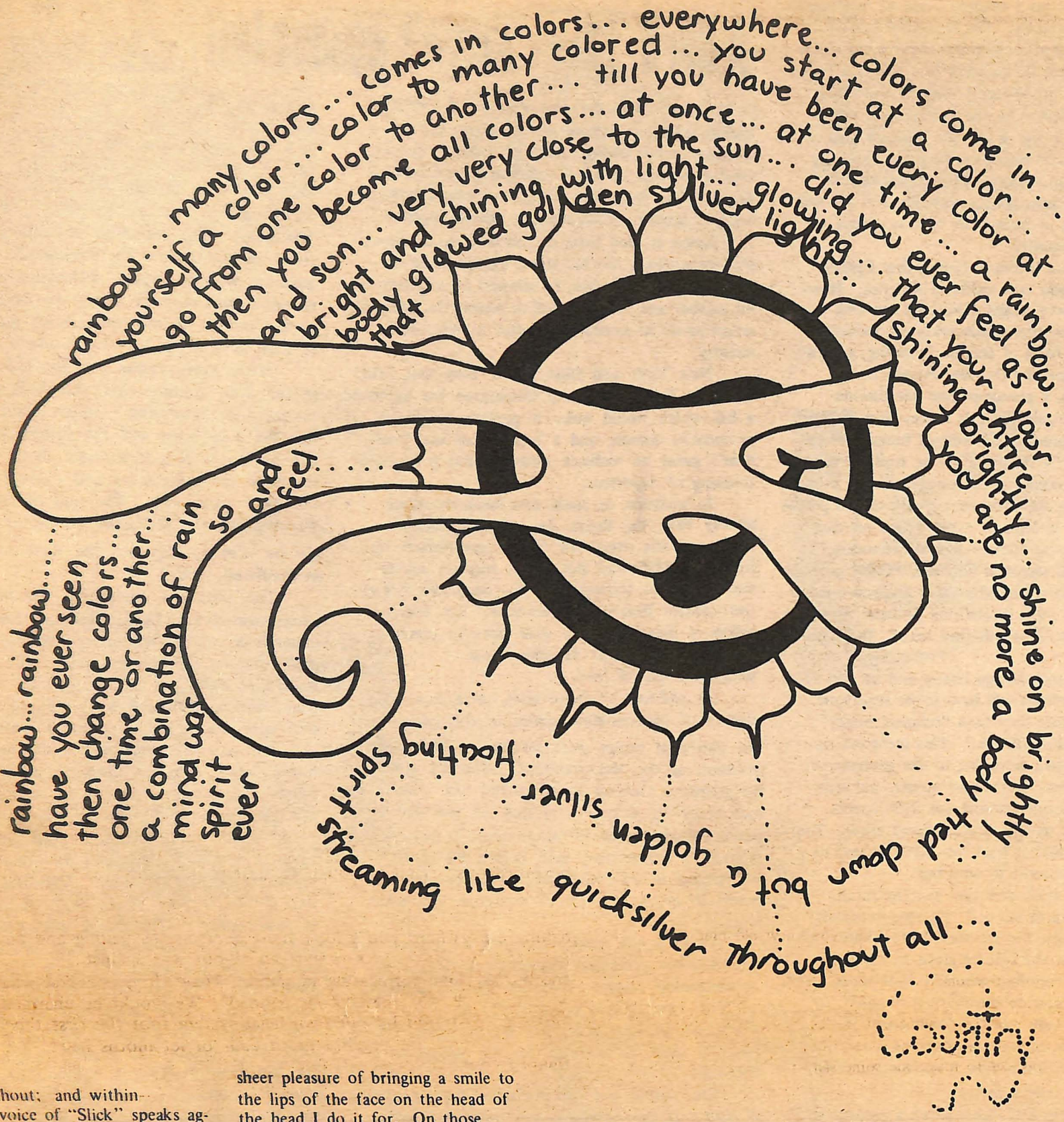
So even a statement taken under extreme pressure, and using leading questions, failed to implicate any of the New Haven 9 in a conspiracy to murder Rackley.

DiRosa: What happened next on the night of the murder?

Lonnie: Rory and Landon left, and then George Sams began issuing orders. He said "what I say from now on is orders from national headquarters." He said we were going to let Rackley go. He told Rackley that he should have cooperated and he wouldn't have gotten the hot water. George told him that he was going to be kicked out of the Party.

When DiRosa finished "explaining" the tape, he put in one gratuitous "recollection" of his own. He claimed that Lonnie had told him he wanted to "testify to the Senate, the McClellan Committee, about the Panthers." DiRosa presumably added this ridiculous story to try to discredit Lonnie to the Panthers. It didn't work.

The law enforcement people in this case don't care that Alex Rackley, a Black Panther, was murdered. If they did, they would put George Sams, who everyone agrees masterminded the whole thing, on trial, rather than letting him plea bargain for a lighter sentence. They want instead to parlay the repressive powers they have into putting a whole Panther chapter and several high Panther leaders out of commission. They will try to prove that a mystical "chain of command" existed, from Bobby Seale, to Williams and Hithe, to George Sams, to Kimbro and Lonnie, and that this chain conspired to kill Rackley. But so far it seems that even when they get someone like Kimbro to turn state's witness, they cannot get him to testify about a conspiracy that never existed. The attempt to use Rackley's murder to put away other black revolutionaries has not succeeded yet. Perhaps George Sams, the mentally defective provocateur, will give the state the testimony they want.



To You without; and within–

The vast voice of "Slick" speaks again, by proxy from Maple St. Park, Anytown, U.S.A. I speak softly, and my words carry "the weight"of a catarpillar, but inside there's alotta well-meant ideas.

Complaining seems like the un-cola way of receiving results. But that's cool: cause on the real scale of life's ups and downs there still remains that eternal balance of things. Two point two pounds of egoful pleasure brings way for the same amount of egoless bummers. Hemp weed, for example, adds to life's dig-ability. Being a downer drug, and a lifer up is a nice thing I think. But drugs in general, seem to bring out the kid in me. Just then the mortician still speaking of teaweed, smiles the word "heavy." When paranoia strikes, watch it: when confusion strikes, run away. Bullshit! The heaviness goes with it baby; so if you're gonna smoke, do it with your eyes open: face the heaviness for what it is, and dig it, too. It's worked some for me, cause now my downs are more up and my ups, outa sight. If you don't smoke, why? If you don't wanna: don't. If you do wanna, but don't: then do. If you do & dig it: then dig it. I do.

Although smoking dope and gargling chemicals are big in my world, they have nearly nothing to do with my complaints: one of the biggest of which is the fucking rip-off that goes on everytime I think about it. "It" would be seen with my eyes as a constant thing if I spent less time diggin the beauty around me. That's cause it is a constant thing. One of those fucking facts of life I can't seem to change. When I do something selflessly for you. I damn sure want something in return. Often its gifts in return, but most likely its for the sheer pleasure of bringing a smile to the lips of the face on the head of the head I do it for. On those times of pure giving, I dig myself most. Then enters the smiling mortican again and he's somehow talked you into trying to get the most you can from me. That's cool, you're only hurting you; I'm getting used to it. So if you do it; dig it. If you can; you self-centered, egotistical, pseudo-hip half-head. You know who I'm talking about too, don't you?

Sorry if my guilt carries onto you, but I'm just regretful that I'm still part of this rip off. Seems nothing works out well when I work to do my share and trade my things for those I rip off from you. Feels good to at least look in the medicine cabinet mirror at my chick's apartment and be able to say to myself "I'm trying." Hope you feel as good soon. If enough of us get to feeling good thru sharing ourselves, its gonna carry over into the world of matching pastel bathroom towels, the world of glass ashtrays on shining maple tabletops; the world of dog leashes and beer drinking Sunday afternoon TV baseball games; the worlds of our parents, and of many of our friends. If we share enough..... they'll receive. If they receive enough they'll have all the extra shit left over and may even share where usually they waste. Some of it will filter down to us in all kinds of strange returns, like maybe even farout smiles. Its like dirt in levis' bells, it all comes out in the wash. It'll be a nicer trip getting there, if we share along the way. Share what? Don't be silly...

Yeah, smile everyday. Smile Sunday and...

Monday the thirteenth: think that means anything?...Thirteen's as good a number as any, and Monday's as good a day as any. Dig it. This Monday the thirteenth is better than last Monday the thirteenth; whatever or whenever the hell that was. I'm sitting by a mirror of my life. Actually its a great black pond with pretty pictures. Black is a combination of all colors; (according to Mr. Stevens, my 7th grade art teacher) and at the moment the colors appearing most appealing are those grays & greens of the trees across the way, and those of white & blue in the reflected sky.

Sitting across from my "swimming prohibited" sign and its reflection is ruined by the water ripples; hurray for water bugs. But gazing next to it, in the middle of all those rain-weathered picnic tables, is this great tree. Trees are a thing with me. Trees are a thing with nature. Nature is a BIG thing with me. People are a part of nature. I'm people, I'm nature; I'm a BIG thing with me....(aren't you with you?)

So's this chick sitting next to me; and our dog crashing comfortably behind us. My chick, thru pointing out a super-cute little girl across the pond, has also brought me onta me, back into the tree that helps make up the landscape that's reflected off this wonderful wet water, spread out before us as part of our movie for today; this beautiful sunny day of sharing ourselves with each other and us with the world that is sharing their movie with ours for us ALL to enjoy.

ENJOY...

INJOY–

Yes, and why not? Thats why it is; and it is!.....

Dig it; share it

Dig it more; and.....

love me I love you

Slick

Middle Earth News

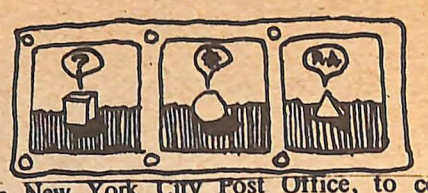
Middle Earth Entertainment Area will serve multifarious purposes:

1. **It will feed the pumpkins.**
2. **Inoperable data will be assimilated**
3. **Children are wise to this**
4. **Space is unlimited except in the body**
5. **The concentration of business will raise no fewer than a dozen, no more than a thousand hackles.**

Corporate Structure
A system
Are you deaf?
We ask questions
Systems and hands pulling hands to avoid the drag of exploitation
A politic of experience
(Politic a reality system if the input-reader is careful and hook-ups are made correctly)
A star for effort
This child can see

David

A Hard heat resistant adhesive Reign's Agonna Fall



Fascism involves a reorganization of economic and political institutions. The free labor market is eliminated. Under a fascist state, there is no hiring and firing. Workers are assigned to a job at a fixed wage. Prices and production levels are also fixed. Resources are allocated by the government, but private profit for a few is still the ultimate goal of the system. Political repression becomes necessary in a fascist state to preserve those measures and keep down resentment people naturally feel for such a rigid structuring of human life that is against the interests of the majority.

It is therefore incorrect to say that Fascism in its complete form now exists in America. However, the preparatory stages of fascism are clearly recognizable. Government allocation of resources does exist in the form of defense spending, government contracts, and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a pseudo-private corporation in which it is the government's money that is being invested. Government channeling of human resources already exists in the form of the tracking system in high schools, computerized stratification of jobs in industry, urban redevelopment which assigns people to live in certain sections of a city based on their income, and selective military service channeling.

The political aspect of Fascism, namely political repression, is in an advanced stage. The government has already taken steps to institute political repression.

What further steps will they take? The blueprint is clear.

About two months ago Nixon and his top advisors said that radicals will have to be supervised more closely because they have "criminal minds" and are "potential murderers." This increased surveillance will include, according to the government, the use of informers, undercover agents, and wiretaps. Until the Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 wire tapping was a federal crime. The 1968 law now makes it legal for States as well as the Federal Government to wire tap.

Nixon's psychiatrist is also worried about people with "criminal minds." He recommended to Nixon, as reported in the New York Times, that all eight year old kids be given an exam to see if they have "criminal minds." If it turns out that a child does have a "Criminal mind" an attempt will be made to rehabilitate him. If the rehabilitation fails, he will be placed in a reform school until the rehabilitation is successful. This suggestion is still only a fantasy.

In Washington D.C. there exists a computer, which, in a year or two will be fully operative. It has coded information on hundreds of thousands of "subversives." Any policeman, driving behind a car with a peace bumper sticker, can radio to D.C. and within 30 seconds get a complete history, including arrests, associations, and organizational affiliations, of the driver of the car. This system is not a fantasy.

The Congress has passed, and the President signed, a new crime bill for Washington D.C. In addition to a No Knock clause, which allows police to enter a person's home without warning, the bill provides for preventive detention for up to sixty days. This means that if a person is charged with a crime, he does not have have to be let out on bail, since he might commit another crime even though he has not been convicted of committing the first crime.

Another bill, HR 12806, which has also passed the House and is now before the Senate is a proposal to amend the Bail Reform Act. The new bill provides for preventive detention for ALL federal crimes.

Another bill before the Senate, S3563 was introduced by Senator Hruska. It gives police the right to make people appear for non-testimonial identification. In ordinary language, that means that if police do not have probable cause to arrest someone, but they are suspicious of him, they can call him to the police station to have him give fingerprints, palmprints, foot prints; blood, urine, and hair samples; voice tracks, mug shots, and line-ups; ups. This bill is now in Eastland's Judiciary Committee.

The most far-reaching bill of all is HR14-864, the Defense Facilities and Industrial Securities Act of 1970. This bill has already been passed by the House and is before the Senate. This bill states that anyone in a defense related facility can be investigated and fired if his acts, associations, or *beliefs* are considered by the Executive Branch to be hazardous to national security. A defense related facility is defined as "any plant, factory, industry, public utility, mine, laboratory, *educational institution*, research organization, railroad, airport, pier, waterfront installation, canal, dam, bridge, highway, vessel, aircraft, vehicle, pipeline." If a person is fired from his job because of subversive connections, the bill states that he must be informed of the charges, be allowed to confront his accuser and be permitted to review the evidence, *unless to do so would be harmful to national security.*

New York and Ohio passed Stop and Frisk laws; the Senate Judiciary Committee has approved a bill which would make it possible to punish provocative speech; and a member of the President's panel on violence recommended government licensing of reporters.

In addition to these new measures, there already exist the Smith Act which prohibits advocating the overthrow of the government by force, the McCarran Act which requires subversive groups to register with the Securities Activities Control Board, the Carmichael Act which makes it illegal to cross state lines to create disorder, plus a host of other local, state, and federal laws.

In addition to these laws, there is a wide system of concentration camps in this country. The detention camps were set up in 1950 under a provision of the McCarran Act. The act authorizes the Attorney General to apprehend and detain "in such places of detention as may be provided by him... all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person PROBABLY will engage in or PROBABLY will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage and sabotage."

There is talk within Congress to remove this provision for preventive detention of radicals in concentration camps. Professor Thomas Emerson of Yale Law School, an authority in Constitutional Law feels that this provision will be removed, only in exchange for the passage of HR14864.

One should not overemphasize the importance of laws. If the economic and political situation in America became explosive enough, fascism would be instituted without resorting to the use of laws. In World War II, for example, by Executive Order, the Japanese were placed in Concentration Camps without any laws specifically providing for such action. Today the Black Panther Party is being systematically smashed without the use of any special "repressive" law. Laws are a good indicator of the presence of fascism; they do not cause fascism.

It may seem inconceivable that our government could arrest, in a massive, systematic way, radicals who they consider to be subversive or a threat to internal security. If it is inconceivable then we have forgotten January 2, 1920 when U.S. Attorney General Palmer rounded up, within hours, over 4000 "radical elements" and held them incommunicado, without the right to trial or legal counsel for six months.

Attorney General Palmer justified these raids in words reminiscent of Nixon's statements that radicals have to be supervised more closely. In 1920 Palmer said, "There must be established a systematic and thorough supervision over the unlawful activities of certain persons and organizations whose sole purpose was to commit acts of terrorism or to advocate by words of mouth and the circulation of literature" the subversion of the government.

The Palmer Raids, it must be remembered, occurred in an historical period very similar to contemporary America. A major war had just ended. There was tremendous labor unrest due to war induced inflation. Workers were beginning to feel the squeeze and agitate for change. In the Spring of 1919 there was also a series of politically connected bombings and bomb scares. A bomb went off in the home of a very conservative Senator from Georgia. Sixteen packages addressed to prominent men were found, in the New York City Post Office, to contain bombs. Bomb threats were also made against two U.S. judges and the Postmaster General. The fear of bombings tore through the nation the same way fear tore through New York City and the nation several months ago after a series of bombings. The round-up of radicals in 1920 occurred shortly before the Presidential election campaigning was to begin. Repression of dissident elements was seen as a way to insure popularity at the polls. It was then called the Red Scare. It may now be called the Southern Strategy.

After every major war the U.S. has fought in the 20th century there has been a systematic campaign of repression. After World War I it was the Red Scare and the Palmer Raids. The end of World War II brought about the massive expulsion of communists and other radicals from the labor movement. The end of the Korean War brought the McCarthy period to full bloom.

We are now moving into the final stages of the War in Southeast Asia.

This does not imply that war nor the end of wa causes repression. During wartime, resources of the country go to the war effort causing neglect of domestic needs. Domestic strains build up which eventually are expressed in the form of organized dissent. Repression is the final form the government uses to deal with dissent when means of co-optation fail.

The current labor unrest, for purely bread and butter issues, also has historical parallels and has caused great concern among the country's rulers. The proliferation of wild cat strikes, the "illegal" Postal strike, the rejection by rank and file caucases of contracts negotiated by union leaders have created a volatile situation. High level union leadership is tied in very closely with the establishment of this country. The recent splits betwen union leaders and the rank-and-file have created tremendous problems for the union officials and the U.S. government. To overcome this crisis, Nixon and Meany, head of the largest and most establishment union coalition, the AFL-CIO, have made an agreement which Nixon will attempt to put into law. The agreement proposal is designed to enforce compulsory settlements on the rank-and-file. It allows the Chief Executive to choose between the last best offer of either management or union officials and makes his decision binding on both sides. The rank and file in any union will have no opportunity to vote on the contracts.

This proposal to eliminate the power of the rank and file was first instituted by Mussolini in 1926 and by Hitler in 1933. This measure was among the first steps taken in the establishment of Fascist control of Italy and Germany. The next step for Hitler in the securing of his power was the elimination of traditional elections. It should not be surprising, therefore, that Nixon has already run a contingency study to determine the response of Americans should he suspend the 1972 elections because candidates could not campaign due to domestic turmoil.

This, of course, is only a contingency study. Perhaps there would be no need to suspend the elections. In a front page article in the Hartford Times, March 15, 1970, entitled "Biographer of Nazis: It Can Happen Here," William L. Shirer, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, states:

> *"As I sat there and wrote, I often thought,*
> 'My God, how this applies to us here in America today.' *...We might be the first people to go fascist by the democratic vote, and that would be something not even the Germans or the Italians did."*

According to Shirer, the parallel between the United States and Nazi Germany is valid.

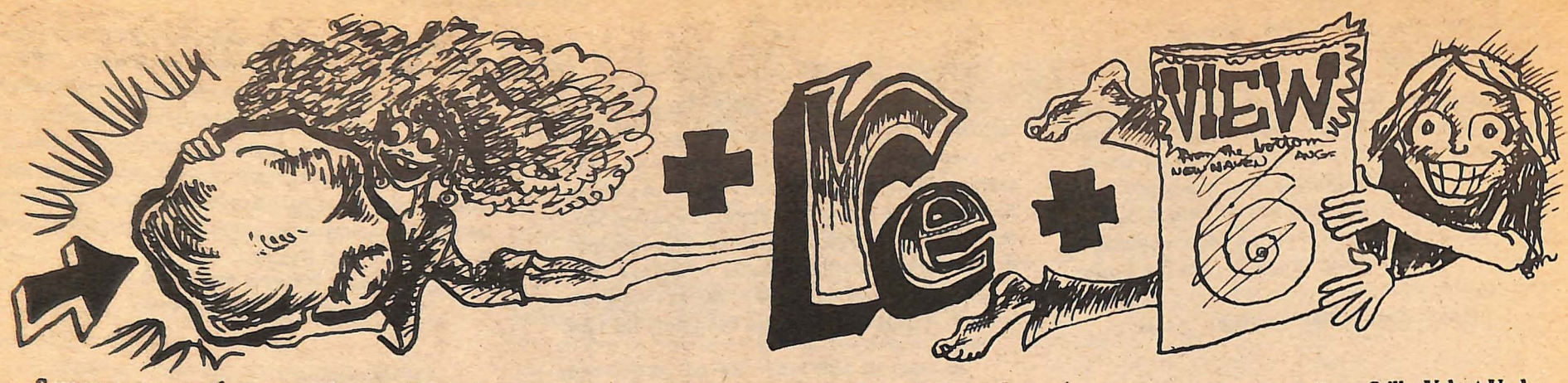
History is not an event, but a process. The coming of fascism to Germany did not happen in a day. the history books would have us believe that on the eve of January 30, 1933, fascism came down in Germany: the sky turned gray, the earth trembled, and the radio voice crackled, "Tonight we have officially turned fascist." It did not happen like that there. It won't happen like that here.

It is not our belief that fascism in America will take the same form as fascism took in Germany. We merely want to make the point that Americans will be no more aware of what is happening than most Germans were. There are some who would say that the

label "fascism" for what is transpiring in American politics is premature. In light of the systematic repression of the Black Panther Party and the outright murder of 28 of its members, this disbelief is extremely politically naive. The word "repression" was not coined for general use by the movement until it became clear that the white movement was endangered. The black movement has been subject to repression for a long time. The racist implication of this "oversight" is that repression is not "repression" until it happens to whites, or that the "movement" is not endangered by repression until the white movement is endangered. We are saying that the white movement is now so endangered. But we are also saying that America is far beyond the point of the beginning of Fascism. The repression of the Panthers, the national apathy in response to the political murders of hundreds of Blacks (Orangeburg, Jackson, Augusta, and Chicago being only the most recent), beyond that, the national apathy toward the oppressed condition of all Blacks in this country, and finally, the long campaign of genocide in Southeast Asia (anti-personnel bombs, napalm, concentration camps called "strategic hamlets"): these factors are substantiation enough for the claim that we are in the beginning stage of Fascism.

by Cathy Williams and David Tobis

* (conclusion in next issue) *



Summer seems on the wane and the festivals have all more or less bitten the collective dust. Each had good vibes somewhere along the way, but they were all crushed in one way or another by the growing repression in Amerika. "Who knows what tomorrow may bring?" said Stevie Winwood.

Rock can make us remember or forget that which is taking place in the "outside world." Or maybe both. Or maybe neither. I don't want to figure it out today – too tired. Let me just turn you on to some good records.

Firesign Theatre/*Don't Crush That Dwarf, Hand Me The Pliers* – probably the finest album from that quartet of madmen. A two-sided, 46-minute look at Amerikan society. Briefly, it is an allegory for Amerika, viewing the educational, judicial, and military systems through the television and movie industries. It's also incredibly funny, and as usual takes about ten listenings to fully grasp what they're talking about. It's all beautifully done. A brilliant album.

Nice/*Five Bridges Suite* – the farewell album for Keith Emerson's trio. If you dig classical-rock integrations, the Nice were doing it before anyone else. Although plagued by countless hassles throughout their very unfulfilled career, they've managed to leave an excellent final album. *The Five Bridges Suite* is well conceived and executed and is performed with the Sinfonia Orchestra of London.

King Crimson/*In The Wake Of Poseidon* – the second album from the quite insane English group. This album is just as weird as the first, and the songs sound quite similar in places – the effect seems intentional. Their music sounds like the product of compressing a large quantity of cosmic ether past its compressibility point. It squirts out in many weird directions.

Quicksilver Messenger Service/*Just For Love* – the fourth album features the return of Gary Duncan, the addition of Dino Valenti, and a better integration of Nicky Hopkins. On *Shady Grove* Hopkins sounded like something tacked on as an afterthought. Now he interacts well with the rest of the group. Unfortunately, word has it that he has moved on to other things. The group relies heavily on the vocals of Valenti, whose voice and style I don't find particularly pleasing. In any event, there is a lot of good shit in this album – especially the instrumental "Cobra" by acid-guitarist John Cippolina. The album, which was recorded in Hawaii, features an especially far-out cover.

Crosbystillsnashandyoung/*Wooden Nickle* – another bootleg album. The recording quality varies from fair to excellent, but unfortunately the quality of the record itself is worth shit. After about ten playings it develops all sorts of wonderful hisses and clicks. The wisest thing to do would be to tape this on first playing. The album is worthwhile since it contains versions of "Down by the River," "Sea of Madness," "Birds" by Neil Young, and an excellent "4 & 20," among other things.

Those albums are the only ones which have really amazed me in the past few weeks. There are new albums out by the Mothers and the Band, but one listening couldn't produce much comment on either.

There are a lot of new albums scheduled for release "soon" – which of course means sometime in the next two months. *Led Zeppelin III* is presently being mixed and should be ready shortly. Neil Young, the Youngbloods, Fairport Convention, Steve Stills, Velvet Underground (good!), Chicago (bad!), Miles Davis, Byrds, and Delaney and Bonnie are all due. And others.

Actually the "farthest-out-album that-should-be-coming-out-any-day-now" is the Santana second album. I caught them in concert at the Fillmore the other night and they were out of sight. The band has become much tighter, Carlos Santana's guitar has developed whole new depths of feeling, and their material can only be described as absolutely cosmic. If the album can come anywhere near their performance, it will be monstrous. Also watch out for an exciting group called Ballin' Jack which appeared along with Santana.

There are many reports circulating about the wonderfulness of an English group called Mungo Jerry, who were responsible for the sexist "In the Summertime." In my opinion, their album really sucks. It's incredibly pretentious bullshit. However, that was also said about the Beatles at first. That also is too complicated to ponder. It's been a poor summer for new albums. I'm going back to sleep.

– *Bill Logan*

PASS THIS COPY ON TO A FRIEND

Dedication: This album is dedicated to the people in our struggle to bring sanity to the world now!; to NASA for getting the people to the moon, thus giving the world a new chance to expand together universally in peace; to Johnny Cash & Paul McCartney for their integrity in times of darkness; and to President Nixon: "We love you cuz you need it." Peace, brothers & sisters, music proves that there can be peace of mind even in these trying times. It is the gentlest form of communication, so we hope that you will enjoy these songs and that you'll pass this copy on to a friend when you've "Gotten the Message." **Steve Miller**

STEVE MILLER BAND Album Titled: NUMBER FIVE

WHIPPED COLLECTIVE

The Liberation School, made up of about 30 movement people who came here to work around the trials of the New Haven 9, is moving towards some kind of collectivization, after two months of attempting to find a workable organizational form.

The conclusion about the need for collectives has been drawn from the realization that it is necessary to build a base of some kind in New Haven, rather than, or in addition to, "working around the trials."

If the entire group divides into small collectives, a nucleus of about five groups would join with the American Independent Movement, and whatever individuals and organizations will be working in community colleges, Yale, and high schools, to form what could be a strong movement community.

Liberation School people, in discussions about forming collectives, agreed that a sense of priorities about where to organize has to be established, and that collectives should diversify and specialize among these areas.

Suggestions for such action areas included: Organizing among workers; women; working class youth; street people; and in universities and high schools; and doing propaganda work around the Panthers; serving the people with a food conspiracy, people's garage, and free or cheap clothing program.

In addition, individual collectives could choose to concentrate on internal movement organizing or coordination among groups within New Haven, and coordination and communication with groups in other cities in Connecticut, the Northeast, and the country.

The discussion about collectives came after repeated attempts to re-kindle flagging interest in the Liberation School, and to achieve a sense of direction which would not only keep the existing group together, but would also attract new people, and in some way, meet the level of political expectations that many movement people in the country have about New Haven.

The difficulty arose because the aura of immediacy, of confrontation, fostered by the May 1 Panther support demonstration was, simply, not confirmed by the reality of a set of eight trials beginning in a small American city in summertime.

In the beginning weeks of the Liberation School, people were intensely aware of the need for action. The School, proposed by some members of the New Haven Panther Defense Committee, sought to meet these expectations by providing for academic workshops, revolutionary skills-building sessions, and some kind of actual political organizing.

Yet, while people in the group got organized around, and participated in, workshops about the economy, the movement, the Third World, and some technical skills, they failed to define a successful action program.

It was at first generally accepted that the action part of the School would be some form of propagandizing around the trials, and working with the Panthers. But an action strategy derived from "working around the trials" could not be arrived at. Ironically, the increasing frustration over this failure helped to stagnate efforts to propagandize around the Panthers and repression.

Although several demonstrations were held in front of the courthouse, efforts to make them a daily event also failed. People were simply tired of demonstrations, and fully aware that a series of demonstrations would be an historically obsolete organizing strategy.

A steering committee for the School, which was supposed to be made up of all the groups and organizations involved in the School, (and which, it was hoped, would eventually be a central movement coordinating body in New Haven,) attempted to provide discussions about the politics of people in the School, and to derive from the discussions an action program. But after three sessions in July, these broke down in the face of the challenge of what kind of action strategy the white revolutionary movement—indeed, the entire American revolutionary movement—could move toward.

Two weeks after these meetings, the School was drawn, in mid-July, into helping put together the Woodbury Music Concert. The sponsors of the concert, the staff of a debt-ridden underground magazine called **Country Senses**, appealed to the Liberation School for help when it appeared there would be too many people for the magazine staff to handle.

The concert was hardly an ideal political situation. But because it was action, people in the School were working together, and were at the same time exposed together to a new situation and new people. The break in the endless round of meetings greatly improved morale among the New Haven group.

In addition, the group did actions at concerts at Tanglewood and Newport.

After one of the most successful experiences with criticism and self-criticism, centered around the action at Woodbury and the possibility of other rock concert actions, the School broke down into small task groups such as fund-raising, propaganda, rock concert actions, etc.

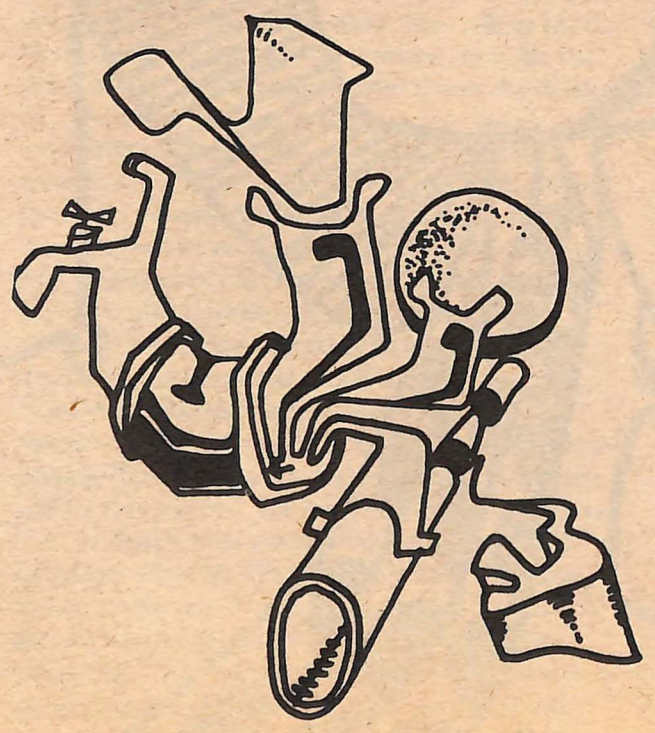
This new form of organization came in the context of all the other activities over the course of June and July. A weekly Panther Trial News summary sheet was being produced, a six-page propaganda broadside called REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME came out once; people met in discussion and political education groups on an average of twice a week, covering such topics as the PL-Weatherman-RYM split in SDS, the French student situation and some Panther ideology; moderately successful discussion and lecture sessions on the US economy and on the Third World went on; a women's group met and decided, after two months, to do a rally for women in solidarity with the Panthers; and an office was staffed.

Yet this last reorganization was the beginning of the end of the patience of people with the form of the Liberation School. While the Food Conspiracy—the purchase and distribution of fruit and vegetables at wholesale prices—got started, and progress was reported on developing a people's garage, the persistent problem of a political direction confronted and halted the newly-formed propaganda team from doing anything beyond making some contacts in New Haven and other cities in Connecticut.

Although the propaganda group agreed on the need to create a regional consciousness in movement groups in Connecticut and Massachusetts, debate over the forms of propaganda dragged on.

The propaganda group disagreed on whether propaganda should be aimed in specially tailored bursts at particular groups or whether it should be of a generalized form.

Impatience and restlessness with two months of meetings made disagreements and personality clashes seem sharper than they really were, resulting in persistent lack of communication.



Then the Rock Concert group, after a dismal effort to politicize the Randall's Island Concert in New York City, precipitated an intense debate in the School about the upcoming Powder Ridge Concert. The Rock Group decided that concerts were bad places to do political work, and refused to try anything at Powder Ridge. However, some people, more out of curiousity than political motivation, did go up to the chaotic scene and show some Newsreel films. In addition, the four day moratorium in meetings of the School during Powder Ridge further added to the general sense that the School was losing direction.

A spell of terrible summer weather administered the emotional coup de grace to the existing arrangement. By the end of the first week in August, the only existing collective catalyzed a feeling held by many of the thirty people, arguing that the School simply could not go on as a political organism. The discussions about collectives followed.

The details of what has been happening among these 30 people over the past three months is difficult to recall beyond a sense of developing weariness. This is no doubt due to the fact that most of these three months has been spent, incredibly, at meetings doing little else but talking. Without any records of what was talked about, and with so little action having come out of all the talk, one tends to recall in a vague way the mixture of intracacy and absurdity characteristic of many movement meetings, rather rather than any long, complex political process.

Yet the thirty people whom, in the midst of so much flux and confusion, have stuck it out trying to define and work in an objectively confusing situation, have gotten to know and work with each other.

Meetings were not the only places the diverse group in the Liberation School "related to" each other. There were the rock concert actions, several trips, and such experiences as a night spent in front of a Panther house after what looked like (but did not turn into) a set of police raids against Panther houses, and a trip to Bridgeport, on the third day of "disturbances" where the entire NCCF chapter was busted.

They have gotten to know each other personally in the way people in a campus movement group usually do, but there is a greater intensity and commitment in the group because it is functioning out of its own volition and choice of ground, rather than in the arbitrary, external alienated context of a campus and an "education" paid for by the state or people's parents.

And also, contacts have been made in community colleges, the Panthers, AIM, and at Yale, all of which could become critical should any heavy action develop in New Haven at the end of the trials.

These personal ties will most likely be very important to the attempt to set up a community of collectives. For, like most off-campus movement groups, there is a diversity of age, experience, and political styles, which would have been much more divisive and destructive had there not been a strong common sense of commitment to making some kind of sense, some kind of direction, out of the situation in New Haven.

Most of the people who discussed forming collectives also appear to agree that they will want to keep the Liberation School as a school. Workshops in the school may be run by the various collectives, with the subject matter derived directly from the organizing efforts of the various collectives. Thus there could be workshops on labor organizing, the movement, the Panthers, movements in other countries, street organizing, etc.

At present, people in the Liberation School are trying to get together and work out living arrangements etc. so that by the fall they can do more systematic and comprehensive base building in New Haven, and nationally directed propaganda work around the Panthers.

First in a series by Peter Friedland

ALIVE IN SEATTLE

CR Lawn

Seattle Liberation Front is one of the primary reasons why me, and John Froines, and the other people who were on trial, got out. We were sitting in Cook County Jail, and all of a sudden TDA hit. Three thousand people attacked a federal courthouse in Seattle. Tear gas was used, tear gas went in the building, and windows started spontaneously to disintegrate.

All across the country that was the signal, and people all across the country said, "We're going to take care of TDA right here." They took care of business in Santa Barbara, Washington, Chicago, and New York, all over, cause some cats had the initiative to take the first step forward in a million miles to make a revolution. Five hundred thousand brothers took to the streets, which is the only court we have left, and put the real conspiracy on trial. They found it inconvenient to keep us in jail. That's why we got out. Not because people wrote a lot of letters to congressmen and had a lot of alliances with the liberal community. We got out because brothers and sisters supported us and thought that they were on trial. They made a jury of their peers and took care of business. We're really indebted to these people in Seattle who took the initiative. And now the government paid them back by indicting them under the same act. They're facing ten years for conspiracy to cross state lines with the intention of inciting a riot. Locally.

--Abbie Hoffman

There were eight of us who were indicted in Seattle for conspiracy to destroy federal property and for the use of the facilities of interstate commerce with the intent of incitement to riot. Charges came down about two months after the demonstration which we were charged with organizing. That occurred the day after the trial in Chicago ended. The TDA demonstration in Seattle was at the Federal Courthouse and there was a big confrontation with police, and several hours of streetfighting with police.

We're charged not with fighting but with conspiring to destroy property – not with destroying any property. And we're charged with using the facilities with intent to incite to riot. The facilities charge is pretty interesting because of five people charged on that count four of them are charged with having travelled about two and a half months *before* the demonstration across state lines to come to Seattle to settle. In my case, I'm charged with using the telephone. I spoke to somebody about a week and a half before the demonstration, and my use of the telephone was use of a facility of interstate commerce.

What's particularly interesting about the indictments is that they were directed from Mitchell's office. When the local U.S. Attorney refused even to bring the charges to the grand jury and refused to try the case, because he thought they were a lot of hogwash, the case was brought to the grand jury and is being tried by an Assistant Attorney General of the United States. A lot of other people sometimes talk about, "Well, this comes from on high." Well, in our case it had to be totally explicit – it was signed by the Assistant Attorney General of the United States and it is an attempt by the government to take over local operations.

Also Seattle was the first place to have conspiracy indictments under the riot act on the local level in the white movement, and this was followed by a second set of indictments in Seattle two months later, during the Cambodia demonstrations. There was an attack on the ROTC building; as you probably know there were attacks on ROTC buildings all over the country, and many ROTC buildings were burned down. Here a few windows were broken and so on, and a whole new set of indictments came down. Eight people were indicted on federal charges of destroying federal property, and that was the only place in the country where those charges came down. Seattle's the only place that has two sets of indictments. The reason for that is that the Seattle Liberation Front has been very, very successful in organizing people against the government and making people feel there is something basically wrong with the established order in Seattle and in the United States. We're picked out primarily because of our success so far in organizing. Terry will tell you something of what we've been doing.

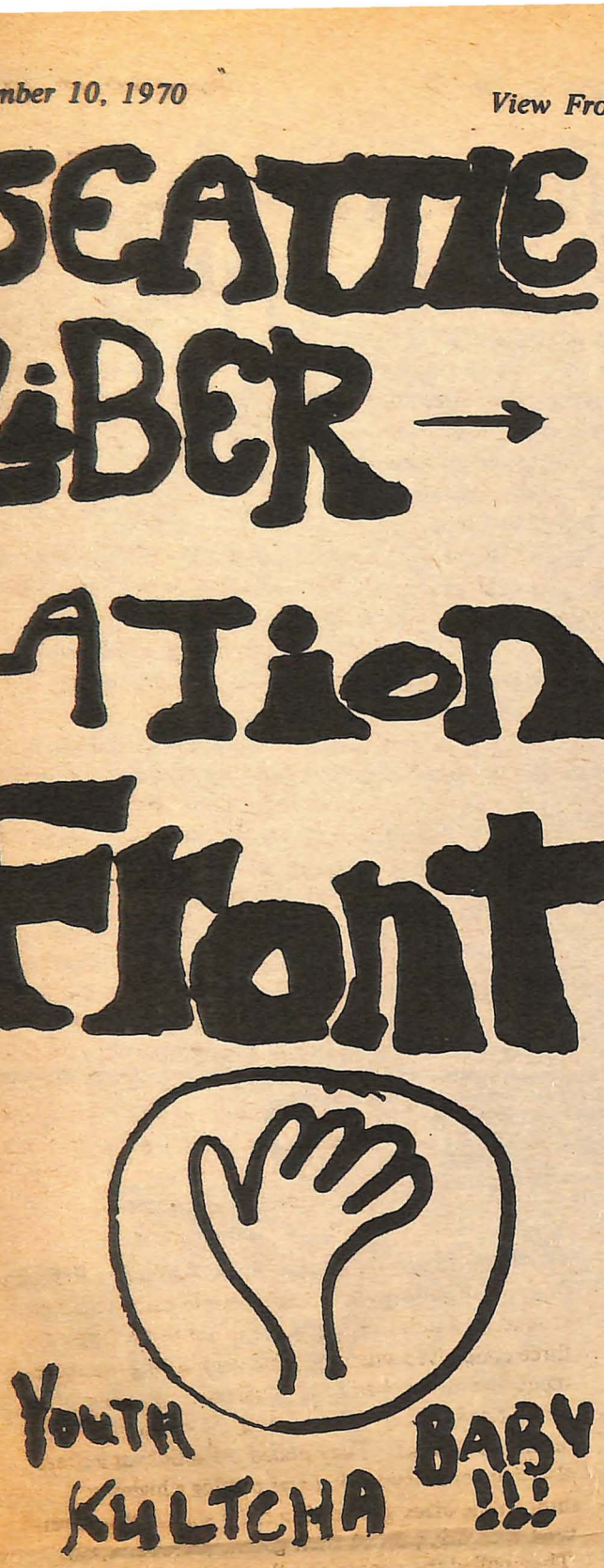
--Michael Lerner

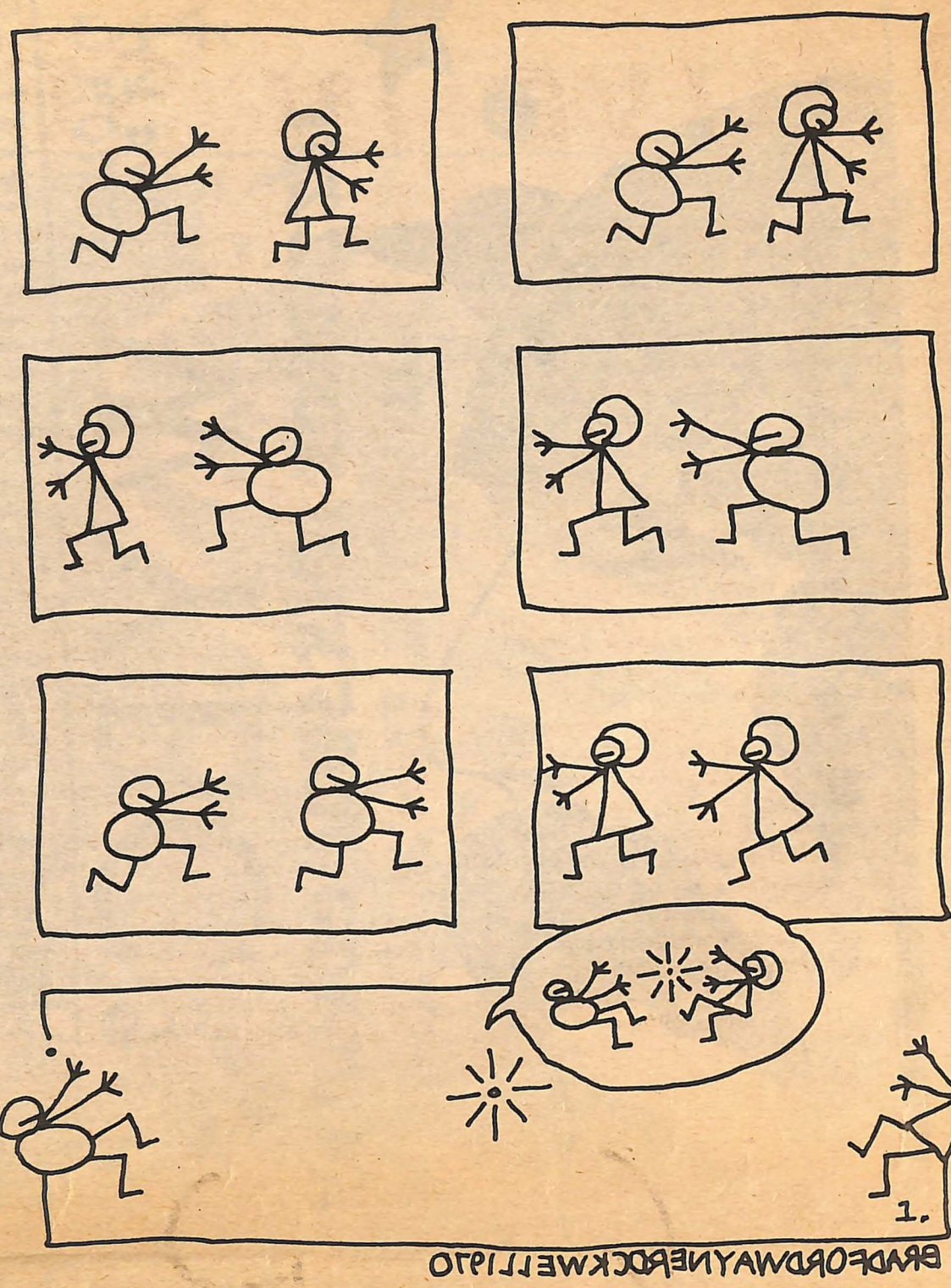
The Seattle Liberation Front formed in February from a few collectives. Some people came together around a 14-point program. At first there were only three collectives which became very strong – a movement that people had to contend with – by pulling off a few actions. They went all over the city and pulled off minor actions. They pulled off actions at a street planning commission that was putting a highway through the black ghetto, at a radio station that advertised men that painted their girlfriends' bodies, etc. They pulled the people together and made them a force. Shortly afterwards the verdict in the Chicago trial came down and they planned a demonstration called TDA in which 2,000-3,000 people were involved. Subsequently federal indictments came down. The organization became more and more known and more and more collectives sprang up around it. At one point we had 40 collectives. Now we have about 15 because school's out and kids have split.

The main thing about SLF is that it works in the collective form. Some of the collectives live together, but it's not a prerequisite for the people to live together to be a collective. What we're trying to do now is get off campus, and we have. All of us are working in the community; we're actually living in the communities that we're trying to organize. Some of us work in unemployment, some at welfare, some work with high school kids, there's a liberation school, we plan rock festivals, there's a self defense collective, we're fairly well dispersed, there's a free food store in a lower class industrial area.

So we're actually trying to take our programs to the people, but what we're not doing is co-opting our programs, that is, liberalizing them. We bring our radical programs to the people and confront them with how things are related. In Washington and Seattle especially we have the Boeing Company which is a war industry, and at this point we have 17 per cent unemployment. By just going down to the unemployment office every day and leafletting we're able to raise the level of consciousness of people. They're beginning to make the connections of how the war, how taxes, how unemployment and inflation are related.

SEATTLE LIBER → ATION FRONT





(Question: How did you get people together enough so that they were ready to do actions?)

At first there were three collectives. Most of them came out of Mike Lerner's class at the university. There's a group that came from Ithaca. We have the 14 point program dealing with racism, imperialism, the women's programs, cultural programs – that was a focal point at that time. What really did it was getting people active. They got together in collectives and then we pulled actions. We made a lot of mistakes, and we pulled some very foolish actions. The thing was for people to work together, to start immediately, not to turn inward. One problem with the movement now is that it turns inward.

(Question: You mean instead of having a lot of discussions and hours and hours of meetings, you had meetings to plan specific things to do?)

We had political discussions too. We think that it's very important that you have a political awareness of what's happening. But you pull actions because it gave people in Seattle an awareness that the Seattle Liberation Front was all around them. We were in the press all the time. Plus we would evaluate the actions: what was wrong with them? What should we have done better? How does this relate to an overall strategy? How does this relate to our politics? How can we get our politics stronger into this type of an action?

We build up politics, too. Because if you just continue to sit down and say, "You know, well, I'm not a revolutionary person, I better get my head together before I do anything," it sort of makes an impotence in the movement and people turn inward, the movement turns inward, and there's bickering and fighting. So we try to have people work on projects and develop through their struggles, develop into revolutionary people through struggling with their problems and struggling with outside problems.

In the collective structure, instead of trying to have a few leaders, everybody assumes responsibility and leadership. People who are stifled in larger meetings can start to come out in the smaller context of a small meeting with people that they know, especially with people that they live with.

But the crucial thing we are doing now is getting out into the community, and we've had a lot of success. And especially with rising unemployment, people look to us for answers. They'll look to the fascists for answers, so it's up to us to provide an alternative for them appealing to their need. Recently we had a regional Mobe meeting (we've never had anything to do with the Mobe, and didn't care to), but we proposed a multi-issue demonstration at their conference, and for some strange reason it passed. We were really surprised that they would dig it. So now we're working on the Mobe thing and trying to involve as many welfare rights and unemployment labor people as we can into an anti-war, anti-imperialist coalition. It's no longer an antiwar movement. We're trying to make it into an anti-imperialist movement, touch people's lives where it hurts because you can't just go against the war for moral reasons any more – you've got to see how that relates to capitalism and imperialism and make it affect people's lives – so people will struggle around what they would like to see.

Also we're planning a teach-in on repression. We would like to see in each region a closed circuit network so people in a region could plug in their own local problems. The framework of this teach-in would include Huey Newton and Madame Bhin talking about black repression, Vietnamese repression, and then the five trials that are happening – New Haven, the Panther 21, Los Sieta, Soledad, and Seattle. It would not so much stress repression, but why people are being repressed, why the movement is being repressed, why say in Seattle, because we have some programs that reach to people and we're a very strong force, why has the federal government decided to crack down on that? Trying to affect people, not just campus students, people in the community, relate to how this affects their lives, what would happen if they tried to build a movement. We have to be very careful as far as defining ourselves in terms of the repression coming down because there's a tendency for people to draw inward and get very scared. The thing is we're beating repression. In Seattle they brought down these 16 total indictments thinking, "We knocked off the leadership, we cut off the head, it's going to crumble." It hasn't. We're a very strong movement because we've got a broad base. That's why it's important to get in the communities to get that broad base, not just to educate people, but to undercut a base of fascism that's developing.

* * *

I've been to a lot of cities – Minneapolis, Philadelphia – and there's little collectives here and there but these little collectives isolate themselves when they don't come together with other collectives.... If in each city collectives got together and formed an organization of collectives, that they could relate to a whole region of collectives, or a whole country of collectives .... We're the colonists and it's much better when you have a feeling around you that there's people with you, that you can count on your brothers and sisters to come in, and you have strength – strength in organizations and numbers.

(Comment: There could be a lot more done here in New Haven if people just got together more, if there were less infighting and bickering. There's a lot. Nothing much gets resolved except on a level of more meetings and more meetings. That's why I never go to meetings.

Mass meetings are treacherous. Usually a few people end up speaking. Everyone sits back; they get very bored. Nothing gets resolved, because how can you resolve much in a huge body of people? That's why we have the collectives – because it encourages people to speak out, encourages more decisions and discussions to go on. I went to a mass meeting here last night. It was broken up several times. This is indicative of why the collective structure in Seattle has worked so well. When we do have a large meeting – we have a co-ordinating committee meeting twice a week – representatives from each collective come and talk out how they relate to certain problems and their positions on this and that and new proposals. The people rotate. Sometimes one person will go for maybe three weeks with a person who is alternated every week so that there is some form of continuity.

The thing I want to stress is just talking with people that say, "I'm not ready to go out into the community, I don't have my politics together enough, I don't know what to do." And they're very hesitant to form an organization of collectives or go out into the community or anything. People have got to realize that they're not revolutionaries, they don't know everything there is to know about community organizing. It takes years. But delve into it, make mistakes but learn from them.

– Terry

Mooooooo it's the Zoo

Lost: two guys whose names are George and Kevin, last seen at the Chicago concert August 8, Yale Bowl. They go to the University of Miami, staying in New Haven until semester starts. If any cat knows them, or if one of you are reading this bit, please contact me. Janis Bulian, 30A Rose Circle, Middletown, Ct., 347-6825. Holly says "Hi." Would love rapping to you again.

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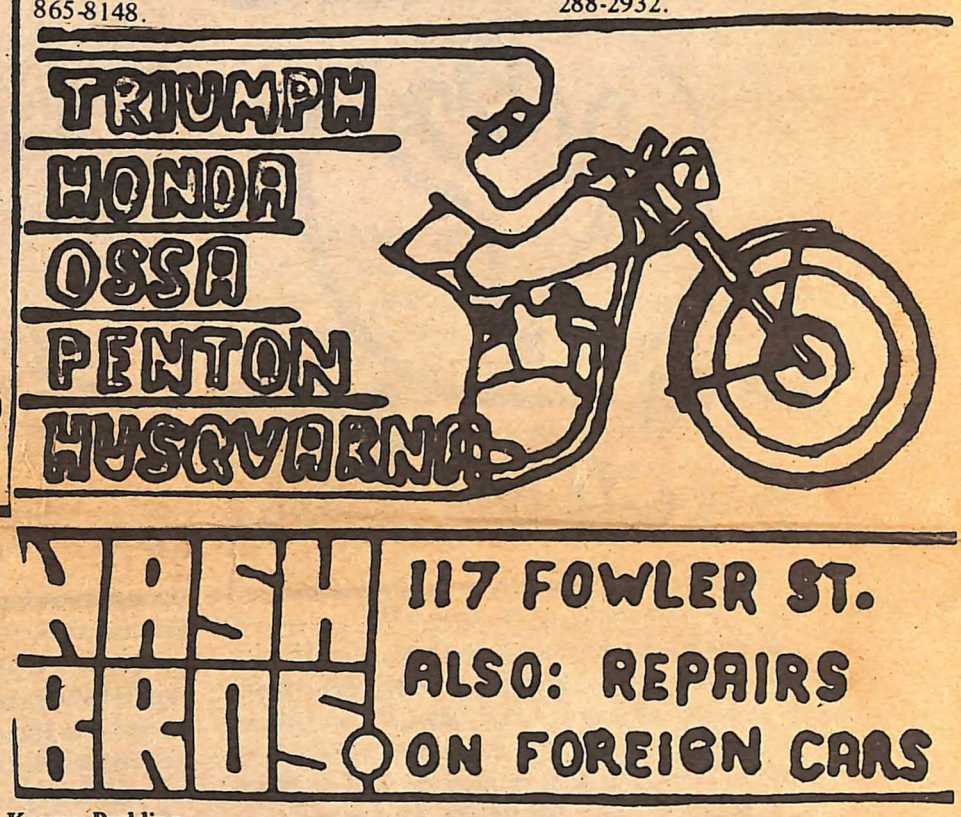
Have opportunity for huge house in East Haven. Need roommates who have transcended drugs and have bread. P.S. We can play music there. Call Peter 288-2932.



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Amateur drummer, bass player seek guitarist to jam with & share top floor beach house at 184 Cosey Beach Ave. Have large attic for sessions. Rent is $58.33 for August, $44 thereafter. Call Len or Dave at 469-4076.

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16-year old organist (3 years exp.) wants to join group for heavy sounds. Don't bother if you're not really serious about the stuff you're doing. Call 758-2154 ask for Rich.

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Karma Pudding

some day things just started falling down around yer ears, you hear echoes, and see farmers flyin' past with hogs clutched under their arms like babies, and they're smilin' and proud, even though yer own eyes have popped all the way out of yer head and hit the far wall. already everything is falling short of yer expectations you might say, because yer educated & big words and ideas are common as cabbage to yer industrialized mind. but that happens to be why such chaos is so hard fer you to handle. it's because you were educated to believe in three things 1) progress (of civilization) 2) happiness (of men) and 3) life (long life because "nobody likes death") and somehow there are times in the history of the world when none of those things quite stand up – these times are known as holocaust & doomsday & the end of the world, even though they're not; the people who're educated to holocaust in the cycle of the farmer-world & industry energy are just these: both kinds of Indians and the old Chinese Taoists (sometimes known as OCT's amongst their more nefarious brethren). these are the groupminds that understand, whose mindcells are directly involved in lifecycle energy, who see with *all* their eyes. this comes down kind of strong in these times when chaos is licking at civilization, but the time seems so long since the last occurence of universal destruction the "civilization" can't hardly believe it's real. which is part of the "historical process" in the first place (probably the last too). the only way those hogs & such can go flyin' past yer head that particular way is for you not to have travelled any farther in time & consciousness than you have done. the worst part of it for yer bedraggled human head is that this holocaust isn't even *just* the end of this world and total disorder in the universe: it's an honest heathen part of the ordered flow of the universe & is the beginning of just one *more* worldplanet, the fifth in the Hopi myths, and what some crazies have understood as a couple of seconds in the life of big bad Brahman (this don't cut too much fer us punies) and what does all this so-called "education" do fer yer head in yer greatest hour of need (you see another aspect of the worldgame is o' course the good ole question-and-then-answer series)? it don't do shit you see. you just slowly follow yer eyes to the wall & drop down on yer knees to wait out the short interval til yer next encounter with the universal intelligence. an' it is only fitting that you start out in the next one as a farmer, with jest about the finest shit-eatin' hog-carryin' grin of the new world, an' shoutin' the whole time "all power to the universe!"

–David Wilk